DRAVIDIAN NOUNS

DRAVIDIAN NOUNS

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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Reader

Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics

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FOREWORD

Dravidian Nouns (A Comparative Study) *is the result of a part of the research done by Dr. S. V. Shanmugam in the last two years. When* **Dravidian Comparative Phonology : A Sketch** *by Prof. Emeneau and* **Dravidian Verb Morphology (A Comparative Study)** *by Dr. P. S. Subrahmanyam were taken up for publication we felt the necessity of a companion treatise on Dravidian noun morphology and when it was proposed to Shanmugam he has cheerfully taken up the work and now we are very happy to place this work before the students of linguistics in general and comparative Dravidian in particular. The Centre is proud that it is possible for it to publish these three important contributions to Dravidian Studies.*

Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University.

S. Agesthialingom

DIRECTOR

INTRODUCTION

DRAVIDIAN NOUNS (A Comparative Study) deals mainly with the suffixes occurring with the nominal stems as well as the numerals and the pronouns. Except the first chapter where an attempt is made to discuss the general nature of the Dravidian nouns, all the others are devoted to the descriptive and the comparative study of the concerned suffixes. The second section of each chapter is called 'Common Dravidian' to refer to the stages such as the Proto-Dravidian, Proto-South Dravidian, Proto-Tamil-Malayalam etc.

Robert Caldwell (1856), the father of the comparative Dravidian studies is the only person whose elaborate treatment of the noun morphology still remains unsurpassed till now. It seems that K. V. Subbiah had a plan to write a comprehensive grammar of the comparative Dravidian but only two major articles and one monograph of his are published. One of the articles, 'A comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages- Nouns-Gender; Nouns and Cases' (1910-11) deals with the gender-number, inflectional increments and the case suffixes. The monograph discusses the first person pronouns. L. V. Ramaswami Ayyer has discussed the nominal suffixes in

two of his papers – the gender-number and case suffixes ('Dravidian nominal inflections', 1936) and the augments (inflectional increments – 'Dravidic Sandhi V. Augments', 1939). Jules Bloch (1946) in his monograph has devoted two chapters for noun Morphology, viz, 1. 'the nouns' which includes the gender-number, inflectional increment and the case and 2. 'pronouns'. All these treatments are sketchy in nature. But one cannot minimize their contribution to the study of the Dravidian nouns. In recent times, the study of the numerals, the pronouns and number suffixes (see the respective chapter for the bibliography) are undertaken by various scholars and good advancements have been made in the comparative study. However, the gender suffixes, the inflectional increments and the cases are not treated taking into consideration all the available materials which have come to light in recent years.

An attempt is made in this monograph to present an analysis of the noun morphology taking into consideration of the swelling dimension of the previous and the present explorations in the Dravidian field. Still, the author feels that the material for many languages are not fully adequate and he had no access to read some of the old grammars like Fitzerald's *Kuvinga Bassa*, Grignard's *A grammar of the oraon languages aud study in Oraon idiom* etc.

It is heartening to note that the Dravidian study, especially the study of many uncultivated languages and the study of the early inscriptional and literary texts is fast progressing not only in the Centre of Avanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University but also in many other

places. The author was fortunate enough to be able to incorporate the data from many little known tribal languages like Iruḷa, Kasaba and Kurumba and also the widely known languages like Kota, Toda and Koḍagu which have no descriptive grammars as well as from the early literary and inscriptional records of the four literary languages. Relevant dialect information have been added here and there. However, there may be inadequacies in the treatment of certain sections in this work. It is hoped that these inadequacies would eventually be removed and the valuable findings of the present and the future work be incorporated in the future editions of this book.

I am happy to record my deep sense of gratitude to Prof. S. Agesthialingom who gave me a chance to write this monogragh and for his kindness in including this in the publication series of the CAS in Linguistics. He was also kind enough to supply data from his field-notes on Ka:ṇik-ka:ra dialect of Tamil and Badaga. I am indebted to Dr. K. Kushalappa Gowda who was kind enough to go through the manuscript and gave me his valuable suggestions. Additionally he has provided data for Kannada and Tulu. My thanks are due to all my colleagues and the research scholars of the Department who have given me the data and suggestions when some of the topics were discussed in the weekly seminars of the Department. My special thanks are due to Dr. P. S. Subrahmanyam (for the information on Telugu and Gondi), Thiru K. M. Prabakara Variar (for the information on Malayalam), Thiru G. Subbaiya (for the information on Kota), Thiru S. Sakthivel (for the information on Toda and for assisting me in the proof

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S. V. Shanmugam

LANGUAGE ABBREVIATIONS

Ta.	Tamil	Malt.	Malto
Ma.	Malayalam	Br.	Brahui
To.	Toda.	OTa.	Old Tamil
Ko.	Kota	MOTa.	Middle Old Tamil
Ka.	Kannada	LOTa.	Late Old Tamil
Koḍ.	Koḍagu	MTa.	Middle Tamil
Tu.	Tuḷu	NTa.	New Tamil
Te.	Telugu	OMa.	Old Malayalam
Go.	Gondi	MMa.	Middle Malayalam
Pe.	Pengo	NMa.	New Malayalam
Manḍ.	Manḍari	OKa.	Old Kannada
Kol.	Kolami	MKa.	Middle Kannada
Nk. (Ch.)	Naiki of Chanda	NKa.	New Kannada
Pa.	Parji	OTe.	Old Telugu
Ga. (Oll.)	Gadaba (Ollari)	MTe.	Middle Telugu
Kur.	Kuṛux	NTe.	New Telugu

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

Abl.	Ablative
Acc.	Accusative
Caus.	Causative
CDr.	Central Dravidian
Cent.	Century
Comp.	Comparative
Conj.	Conjunctive

Dat.	Dative
Dial.	Dialect
DPN	Demonstrative Pronoun
EP. Pl.	Epicene Plural
Fem.	Feminine
Fem. Sg.	Feminine Singular
Fem. Pl.	Fenine Plural
FV.	Finite Verb
Gen.	Genitive
Hon.	Honorific
Hum.	Human
Insc.	Inscription
Inst.	Instrumental
Lit.	Literal (translation)
Loc.	Locative
Mas.	Masculine
Mas. Sg.	Masculine Singular
Mas. Pl.	Masculine Plural
NDr.	North Dravidian
Non-Mas. Sg.	Non-masculine Singular
Non-Mas. Pl.	Non-masculine Plural
Neu.	Neuter
Neu. Sg.	Neuter Singular
Neu. Pl.	Neuter Plural
Obl.	Oblique
PCDr.	Proto Central Dravidian
PDr.	Proto Dravidian
Pl.	Plural
PNDr.	Proto North Dravidian
PSCDr.	Proto South-Central Dravidian

Purp.	Purposive
SDr.	South Dravidian
Sg.	Singular
Soc.	Sociative
Voc.	Vocative

JOURNALS

BDA.	Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology
BDCRI	Bulletin of the Deccan College Reserch Institute
ERM.	Educational Review, Madras.
IA.	Indian Antiquary
IIJ.	Indo-Iranian Journal
IL.	Indian Linguistics
JAOS.	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JAU.	Journal of the Annamalai University
JOU.	Journal of the Osmania University Humanities and Social Sciences
QJMS.	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic society, Bangalore.
Lg.	Language
TC.	Tamil Culture

LITERATURE CITED

OLD TAMIL

Tol.	Tolka:ppiyam
Aiṅ.	Aiṅkuṟunu:ṟu
Aka.	Akana:ṉu:ṟu
Naṟ.	Naṟṟiṇai
Kuṟ.	Kuṟuntokai

Pat.	Patirruppattu
Patt.	Pattuppa:ṭṭu
Pur.	Purana:nu:ru
Kal.	Kalittokai
Par.	Paripa:ṭal
Tir.	Tirukkuraḷ
Cil.	Cilappatika:ram
Maṇ.	Maṇime:kalai

MIDDLE TAMIL

ña:n. Te.	ña:nacampantar Te:va:ram
Ap. Te.	Appar Te:va:ram
Peri. Tp.	Periya:ḻva:r Tirupalla:ṇṭu
Peri. Tm.	Periya:ḻva:r Tirumoḻi
Nac. Tp.	Na:cciya:r Tiruppa:vai
Nam. Tvi.	Namma:ḻva:r Tiruviruttam
Nam. Tva.	Namma:ḻva:r Tiruva:ymoḻi
Ci:va.	Ci:vakacinta:maṇi
Na:c. Tm.	Na:cciya:r Tirumoḻi
Na:l.	Na:laṭiya:r
Tv.	Tiruva:cakam
SII.	South India Inscriptions

MALAYALAM

RC.	Ramacaritam
KG.	Kṛṣṇa ga:tha:
BhG.	Bhagavatgi:tappa:ṭṭu
KP.	Keraḷa pa:ṇini:yam

KANNADA

Vaḍḍ.	Vaḍḍara:dhane
SMD	Sabdamanidharpana

GENERAL

DBIA	Dravidian Borrowings from Indo - Aryan
DED(S)	A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (Supplement)
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. IV.

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I

CLASSIFICATION

Nouns are those which can be inflected for number and case. Each noun belongs to a particular gender. The gender classification of the nouns is mainly based on two distinct phenomena, (1) pronominal reference and (2) adjectival concord (Lyons, 1968:272).

1.1. Gender-Number

The pronominal reference in the Dravidian is found in the finite verbs (Exx. Ta. *vanta:ṉ* 'he came'; *vanta:ḷ* 'she came', *vanta:r* 'they (hum.) came' etc.) and in the demonstrative (DPN) and interrogative pronouns. Exx. Ta. *avaṉ* 'that man', *avaḷ* 'that woman', *atu* 'that thing' etc. in the third person. The adjectival concord is maintained in the constructions, Numeral + Noun (Exx. Ka. *obba maga* 'one son', *obba(ḷu) magaḷu* 'one daughter', *ondu mara* 'one tree') and DPN + Noun (Kol. *am ma·s* 'that man', *at pilla* 'that woman', *avr ma.sur·* 'those men' etc.) But all the Dravidian languages do not exhibit the similar sub-classification of gender-number (Tamil has fivefold system, Telugu, fourfold system etc.) and even within a language, there is no uniformity in the number of classification in various grammatical categories (Malayalam

has fivefold distinctions in the DPN and no distinction in the finite verb (FV). Kannada has fivefold distinctions in the DPN and FV and twofold in the Numeral + Noun construction when the numeral denotes more than one. Pengo has sixfold distinctions in the DPN and fivefold in the FV etc.). So let us first discuss the gender-number classification in the DPN and FV.

1.1.1. PRONOMINAL REFERENCE

There are three major subtypes in this regard. Certain languages show gender-number distinction in the DPN and not in FV. Ka:ṇikka:ra dialect of Tamil, Malayalam, Toda and Koḍagu belong to this category. However, there are differences even among these languages.

1. Malayalam has fivefold distinctions, viz., mas. sg., (*avan* 'that man'), fem. sg. (*avaḷ* 'that woman'), neu. sg. (*atu* 'that thing'). ep. pl. (*avar* 'those persons') and neu. pl. (*avai* 'those things') and there is no suffix not only for the gender-number but also for the person (*vannu* 'I, we, you (sg. & pl.), he, she, it, they came'). In the Ka:ṇikka:ra dialect of Tamil, there are fourfold distinctions in the DPN, viz., mas. sg. (*avẽ* 'that man'), fem. sg. (*ava* 'that woman'), ep. pl. (*avru* 'those persons'), neu. (*adu* 'that thing, those things') and no distinction in the FV as in Malayalam (*vande* 'I, we, you (sg. & pl.), he, she, it, they came').

Toda has only number distinction, viz., sg. (*aθ* 'that man, that woman, that thing') and pl. (*aθa·m* 'those persons, those things') in the DPN and person distinction in the FV (*pi·pen* 'I go', *pi·pem* 'we (excl.) go', *pi·py* 'you (sg.) go', *pi·š* 'you go', *pi·t* 'he, she, it, goes, they go). Yerukala

shows the same pattern. (*atu* 'that man, that woman, that thing', *ay* 'those persons, those things'; *tande* 'I gave', *tandom* ~*tandemu* 'we gave', *tanda* 'you (sg.) gave', *tandeṅge* 'you gave', *tansu* 'he, she, it, they gave').

Fourfold distinctions, viz., mas. sg. (*avën* 'that man'), fem. sg. (*ava* 'that woman'), ep. pl. (*avn* ~*ayṅga* 'those persons') and neu. (*adī* 'that thing, those things') in the DPN and person distinction in the FV (*ba:ndë* 'I came', *ba:ttu* 'we came' *bandiya* 'you (sg.) come', *bandira* 'you came', *ba:ttu* 'he, she, it, they came') are found in Koḍagu. Kota too has the same kind of distinction (*avn* 'that man', *avḷ* 'that woman', *avr* 'those persons and *ad* 'that thing, those things'; *vadpe:* 'I came', *vadpe:m* 'we came' *vadpi:* 'you (sg.) came, *vadpi:m* 'you came' *vadko:* 'he, she, it, they came'

II. Brahui has number distinction only, sg. (*da:* 'this') and pl. (*da:fk* 'those–they') in the DPN as well as in the FV, (*tik̲h̲a:ṭ* 'I placed', *tik̲h̲a:s*, 'you (sg.) placed', *tik̲h̲a:* 'he, she, it, placed', *tik̲h̲a:n*, 'we placed', *tik̲h̲a:re* 'you placed' and *tik̲h̲a:r* 'they placed').

III. Other languages show the gender–number distinction both in the DPN and FV and there are as many as nine varieties here.

Gowda Kannada has threefold distinctions, viz., mas.sg. (*amvam* 'that man'), non–mas. sg. (*adi* 'that woman, that thing) and pl. (*avu* 'they') in the DPN and two fold distinctions, sg. and pl. in the FV. (*tindane* 'I eat', *tindavE* 'we

eat', *tindiya* 'you (sg.) eat', *tindare* 'you eat', *tindadE* 'he, she, it eats' and *tindavE* 'they eat').[1]

Southern Havyaka Kannada possesses threefold distinctions in the DPN like that of Gowda Kannada, but in the FV, it maintains the same threefold distinctions (*hovuttâ* 'he goes', *hovuttu* 'she, it goes' and *ho:vuttavu* 'they go'). (Mariappa Bhat, 1969)[2].

In Halakki Kannada, there are fourfold distinctions, viz., mas. sg. (*avənu* 'that man'), fem.sg. (*avəlu* 'that woman'), neu.sg. (*adu* 'that thing') and pl. (*avəru* 'they') in the DPN and threefold distinctions, viz., mas.sg. (*berta:ne* ~ *bertane* 'he is coming'), non-mas. sg. (*berta:de* 'she, it is coming) and pl. (*berta:re* ~ *bertare* 'they are coming')[3] in the FV. Kurumba has the same kind of distinction (*avən* 'that man', *avəḷu* 'that woman, *adu* 'that thing' and *avicca* 'those persons, those things; *vanna:n* 'he came', *vanna:ḷu* 'she came', *vannu* 'it came', *vanna:ru* 'they came') However, there is no gender–

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[1] Note that the first person plural and the third person plural are formally same in Gowda Kannada and Koḍagu. But they are treated separately because of their function. It may be necessary to set up different base forms for the two categories.

[2] According to Shankara Bhat (1964:70) *ava* 'that woman' is found as honorific singular and there is corresponding FV form also (*banda* 'she came') in Southern Havyaka Kannada.

[3] To call *adu* 'that thing' as non-masculine instead of neuter singular (Acharya, 1967:54) is misleading as there is separate feminine form, *avəlu* 'that woman'. The author might have been influenced by the system found in the finite verb.

number and person distinction in the present tense. (*vatini* 'I, we, you (sg., pl.) he, she, it, they come').

Telugu has fourfold distinctins, viz., mas. sg. (*va:ṇḍu* 'that man'), non-mas. sg. (*adi* 'that woman, that thing'), ep. pl (*va:ru* 'those persons') and neu. pl. (*avi* 'those things') in the DPN[4] and in the FV (*vaṇḍaNḍu* 'he does, did, will not cook', *vaṇḍaru* 'they (hum.) do, did, will not cook', *vaṇḍadu* 'she, it does, did, will not cook' and *vaṇḍavu* 'they (neu.) do, did, will not cook'). However, Old Telugu has only twofold distinctions in the past and habitual finite verbs, viz., ep. pl. (*vaṇḍiri* 'they (hum.) cooked') and non-ep. pl. (*vaṇḍenu* 'he, she, it, they (neu.) cooked').

In the languages like Koṇḍa, Gondi, Koya, Kolami, Naiki (Chanda), Parji and Gadaba, there are fourfold distinctions, namely, mas. sg., non-mas. sg., mas. pl. and non-mas. pl. both in the DPN and the FV.

[4] From Middle Telugu onwards, there is separate feminine singular form *a:me* < *a:yama* ~ *a:viḍa* < *a:biḍa* 'that woman' and the second element is nothing but relationship words, *ama* < *amma* 'mother', *biḍa* < *biḍḍa* 'child' (Mahadeva Sastri, 1969:181). In Modern Telugu these forms are used to denote feminine honorific singular.

Koṇḍa	Gondi	Koya	Parji	Gadaba (Ollari)	Meaning
	Third person demonstrative pronoun				
va:nṟu	*vo:r*	*o:ṇḍu*	*aned*	*o:nḍ*	'that man'
va:r(u)	*vu:r*	*o:ru*	*aner*	*o:r*	'those men'
adi	*ad*	*addu*	*anot*	*ad*	'that thing, that woman'
avi	*av*	*avvu*	*anov*	*av*	'those things, those women'
	Third person finite verb				
va:tan	*va:to:r*	*vatto:ṇḍu*	*veñed*	*vanonḍ*	'he came'
va:tad	*va:ta:*	*vatte*	*veño*	*vane*	'she, it came'
va:tar	*va:te:r*	*vatto:ru*	*veñer*	*vanor*	'they (mas.) came'
va:te	*va:ta:ṅ*	*vatta:ku*	*veñov*	*vanev*	'they (non-mas.) came'

Kolami	Naiki (Chanda)	Meaning
Third person finite verb		
utten	*utten*	'he sat'
utter	*utter*	'they (mas.) sat'
uttev	*uttun*	'she, it sat'
uttin	*utte*	'they (non-mas.) sat'
Third person demonstrative pronoun		
am/amd	*o:n*	'that man'
avr	*o:r*	'those men'
ad	*ad*	'that woman or thing'
adav	*anda*	'those women or things'

Kui	Kuvi	Meaning
Third person finite verb		
si:tenju	*hi:tesi*	'he gave'
si:teru	*hi:teri*	'they (mas.) gave'
si:te	*hi:te*	'she, it gave'
si:tu	*hi:tu*	'they (non-mas.) gave'
Third person demonstrative pronouns		
aanju	*āasi*	'that man'
aaru	*āari*	'those men'
āri	*ādi*	'that woman or thing'
āvi	*āati*	'those women or things'

Kuṛux has fourfold distinctions, viz., mas. sg., non-mas. sg., ep. pl. and neu. pl. in the DPN. Exx. *a's* 'that

man', *a·d* 'that woman, that thing', *a·r* 'those persons' and *abṛa:* 'those things'. But there seems to be more distinctions in the FV because male speakers and female speakers use different personal endings.

Mas.		Fem.	
a·s esdas	'he breaks'	*a:d is'i:*	'she, it breaks'
a·r esnar	'they break'	*a:r esnai*	'they break'

Neu. Pl.

abṛa: is' i: 'they break'

Malto has threefold distinctions in the DPN and FV. They are mas. sg. (*a:h* 'that man', *bandih* 'he draws', non-mas. sg. and neu. pl. (*a:th* 'that woman, that thing, those things, *bandith* 'she, it draws, they (neu.) draw') and ep. pl. (*a:r* 'those persons', *bandner* 'they (hum.) draw').

Kasaba has fourfold distinctions, viz., mas. sg. (*ava:n* 'that man'), fem. sg. (*ava:* 'that woman'), ep. pl. (*ava:ri* 'those persons'), neu. (*adi* 'that thing, those things') in the DPN and fivefold distinctions in the FV, viz., mas. sg. (*ujjixa:* 'he rules'), fem. sg. (*ujjixa:* 'she rules'), ep. pl. (*ujjixa:ri* 'they (hum) rule'), neu. sg. (*ujjixidi* 'it rules') and neu. pl. (*ujjixine* 'they rule').

In Tamil, Kannada (standard dialect, Nanjangud Vakkaliga dialect and Dharwar dialect), Iruḷa and Tuḷu, there are fivefold distinctions, viz., mas. sg., fem. sg., neu. sg., ep.pl. and neu. pl. in the DPN as well as in the FV.

Ta.	Std. Ka.	Iruḷa	Tuḷu	
avaṉ	*ava(nu)*	*avɛ*	*a:ye*	'that man'
avaḷ	*avaḷu*	*ava*	*a:ḷu*	'that woman'
avar	*avaru*	*avaru*	*o:kuḷu*	'those persons'
atu	*adu*	*adu*	*avu*	'that thing'
avai	*avu*	*ave*	*eikuḷu*	'those things'
vanta:ṉ	*banda(nu)*	*vandɛ*	*batte*	'he came'
vanta:ḷ	*bandaḷu*	*vanda*	*battaḷi*	'she came'
vanta:r	*bandaru*	*vanda:ru*	*batterī*	'they (hum.) came'
vantatu	*banditu* ~ *bantu*	*vandudu*	*battni*	'it came'
vantana	*banduvu*	*vandina*	*batto*	'they (neu.)came'

However it should be noted that in Old Tamil the finite verb of *ceyyum* 'do' (present tense) (i.e. verbal root+*um*) type, is used with reference to mas. sg., fem.sg., neu. sg. and neu. pl. In Modern Tamil, most of the dialects use the same personal ending for the neu. sg. and neu. pl. (*vandudu* 'it, they (neu.) came'). So also in Old Kannaḍa, there is one pattern *keygum* 'do' (verbal root+*gum*) which is common to all the tenses, persons and gender-numbers.

Pengo has got sixfold distinctions, namely, mas. sg. (*avan* 'that man'), fem. sg. (*adel* 'that woman'), neu. sg. (*adi* 'that thing'), mas. pl. (*avar* 'those men'), fem. sg. (*avek* 'those women') and neu. pl. (*avaṅ* 'those things') in the DPN and only fivefold distinctions in FV., viz., mas.sg. (*huṛtan* 'he saw'), non. mas. sg. (*huṛtat* 'she, it saw'), mas. pl. (*huṛtar* 'they (mas.) saw'), fem. pl. (*huṛtik* 'they (fem.) saw') and neu. pl. (*huṛtiṅ* 'they (neu.) saw').

Language	Demonstrative Pronoun (Third Person)	Total No. of distinctions	Finite Verb (Third Person)	Total No. of distinctions
Pe.	Mas.Sg., Fem.Sg., Neu.Sg., Mas.Pl., Fem. Pl. & Neu.Pl.	6	Mas. Sg., Non-Mas. Sg., Mas.Pl., Fem.Pl. and Neu. Pl.	5
Ta., Ka. (Std., Nanjangud, Dharwar dialects) Iruḷa, Tuḷu	Mas. Sg., Fem. Sg., Ep.Pl., Neu. Sg. and Neu. Pl.	5	Mas.Sg., Fem.Sg., Ep.Pl., Neut.Sg., and Neu. Pl.	5
Kasaba	Mas.Sg., Fem. Sg., Ep.Pl. and Neu.	4	Mas. Sg., Fem.Sg., Ep.Pl., Neu.Sg. and Neu. Pl.	5
Konḍa, Go., Koya, Kui, Kuvi, Kol., Nk.(Ch.), Pa., Ga.	Mas. Sg., Non-Mas. Sg., Mas. Pl. and Non-Mas. Pl.	4	Mas.Sg., Non-Mas.Sg., Mas.Pl. and Non-Mas.Pl.	4
Te.	Mas.Sg., Non-Mas.Sg., Ep.Pl. and Neu. Pl.	4	Mas.Sg., Non-Mas.Sg., Ep.Pl. and Neu. Pl.	4

Kur.	Mas.Sg., Non-Mas., Ep.Pl. and Neu. Pl.	4	Male: Mas.Sg., Ep.Pl. & Neu. Pl., Female: Fem.Sg., Ep.Pl. & Neu. Pl.	3
Malt.	Mas.Sg., Ep.Pl., Non-Mas. Sg., & Neu. Pl.	3	Mas.Sg., Ep.Pl., Non-Mas. Sg., & Neu. Pl.	3
Halakki Ka., Kurumba	Mas.Sg., Fem.Sg., Neu.Sg. and Pl.	4	Mas.Sg., Non-Mas.Sg. and Pl.	3
Gowda Ka.	Mas.Sg., Non-Mas.Sg. and Pl.	3	Sg. and Pl.	2
Br.	Sg. and Pl.	2	Sg. and Pl.	2
Kod., Ko.	Mas.Sg., Fem.Sg., Ep.Pl. and Neu.	4	Person	1
To., Yerukala	Sg. and Pl.	2	Person	1
Ka:ṇikka:ra Ta.	Mas.Sg., Fem.Sg., Ep.Pl. & Neu.	4	—	—
Mal.	Mas.Sg., Fem.Sg., Neu.Sg., Ep.Pl. and Neu. Pl.	5	—	—

1.1.2. ADJECTIVAL CONCORD

In the languages like Kannada, Tuḷu, Telugu, Koṇḍa, Gondi, Koya, Kolami, Parji, Gadaba (Kuṛux and Malto ?), the adjectival concord is found in the construction, Numeral appellative noun+Noun. Here too, the system is not uniform in all these languages and also within a single language for all the numerals.

Language	Numeral	System
Ka. and Pa.	1	Mas., Fem. and Neu.
Kol., Pa., and Ga.	2, 3	,,
Kol. and Ga.	4	,,
Pa.	5	,,
Tuḷu	1	Mas. and Non-mas.
Ka. and Te.	2 to 7	Ep. pl. and Neu. pl.
Koṇḍa, Go., Koya	1 to 7	Mas. and Non-mas.
Ga.	4	,,
Kuṛux	1 to 4	Human and Non-human
Malto	1 and 2	,,

Exx. Kannada

obba (nu) kaḷḷa (nu)
'one thief'

obba (ḷu) heṅgasu
'one woman'

ondu mara 'one tree'

Parji

okur manja
'one man'

okal ayal
'one woman'

okut ole 'one house'

Kolami

iddar ma.su.r
'two men'

Parji

irul paḍcil
'two boys'

Gadaba

irul se:palkil
'two boys'

i.ral pillakul	*iral aycil*	*iral ayasil*
'two women'	'two women'	'two women'
indiṅ siḍl	*irḍuk olekul*	*inḍi: ko:ndel*
'two buffaloes'	'two houses'	'two buffaloes'

Ka.	Te.
ibbaru huḍagaru	*iddaru tammuḍḷu*
'two boys'	'two younger brothers'
ibbaru heṅgasaru	*iddaru cellallu*
'two women'	'two younger sisters'
eraḍu mara	*renḍu ceṭṭulu*
'two trees'	'two trees'

Konḍa[5]	Go.	Koya
ri ermar̲isir	*icvi:r ma:su:r*	*iruvu:ru ta:talo:ru*
'two sons'	'two men'	'two mother's fathers'
runḍ ga:luk	*ranḍ veylo:k*	*renḍu na:ṭva:hku*
'two daughters'	'two women'	'two young women'
runḍi neleṅ	*ranḍ nahk*	*renḍu eṭku*
'two months'	'two villages'	'two trees'

---

5 In Konḍa the plural appellative forms like *riz.er* 'two males', *a:r̲gur̲u* 'six male persons' etc. denote male plural according to the grammar, (Krishnamurti, 1969:247) but there are some examples in the text where these forms express human plural and not masculine plural.

Exx.	*a:r̲guru*	*mar̲isiru*	'six sons' (p. 93.7.5)
	a:r̲guru	*bo:deka*	'six sisters' (p. 164.9.302)
	a:r̲guru	*bi:bisik*	'six elder sisters' (Ibid. 9.300)
	e:r̲guru	*vizu bo:dek*	'seven young women' (p. 170.9.389)

Tuḷu

ori sampanne	'a rich man'	(Shankara Bhat, 1967:114)
oñji je:vu	'one girl'	Ibid. p. 117
oñji u:ru	'one village'	Ibid. p. 114

Kuṛux

ort alas 'one man'
ort a:li 'one woman'
onḍ aḍḍo: 'one ox'
nub me:tar 'three men'
mu:nd aḍḍo: 'three oxen'
naib mukkar 'four women'
naib a:lar 'four men'

Malto

ort malen 'one man'
ort maqa 'one girl'
maqqond e:ṛe 'one sheep'
iwr maqer 'two sons'

With the other numerals, the qualifiers such as *mandi, jaṇ, jana*, etc. are used in these languages (for details, see Emeneau, 1967b: 182 f.).

There is another type of construction where the noun is the first constituent and the appellative form of the numeral is the second and this type of construction is found in Ta., Ma., Ka., Te., Konḍa and Pe. and no statement is given about this matter in the grammars of the other languages.

Ta. *aṇañku orutti* 'girl - one' Par. 12.57
makaḷir na:lvar 'ladies - four' Aka. 86.12

ulakam e:ḻu 'worlds-seven' Par. 5.35.
pulavar iruvar 'poets-two'

In Mod. Ta., the numeral appellative is replaced by the numeral + *pe:r* 'person' in the case of human nouns.

a:ciriyar na:nku pe:r 'teachers-four'
akka: iraṇṭupe:r 'elder sisters-two'
maram iraṇṭu 'trees-two'

Ma.	*i:ḻakkaiyar*	*eṇmar*	'Ilakkayars – eight'
	ivakaḷ	*paṉṉiruvar*	'these persons-twelve' (Insc.)
Ka.	*hoḍagaru*	*iddaru*	'boys-two'
	mara	*eraḍu*	'trees-two'
Te.	*tammulu*	*iddaru*	'brothers-two'
	ceṭṭulu	*reṇḍu*	'trees-two'
Koṇḍa	*tañi*	*riʔer*	'sisters-two'
	tamber	*na:lʔer*	'brothers-four'
Pe.	*ṭonḍ*	*riyar*	'brothers-two'
	maziriñ	*riyariñ*	'sons-two' (Acc.)
Kui	*de:ganga*	*ri:ṇḍe*	'branches-two'
	ku:nanga	*ṭi:nṭa*	'pototoes-three'
Kuṛux	*uleṇḍ*		'days-two'
	go:hala eṇḍ		'yoke of oxen-two'
	ul mu:nd		'days-three'

(This is restricted to neuter noun only in Kuṛux.)

Gender-number concord is also found in the construction, Demonstrative pronoun + Noun (phrase) in the languages like Kota, Gondi, Parji, Kolami and Nk.(Ch.). In all other languages, there is no concord in this construction where the same adjective form is used with all the the nouns belonging to mas., fem. or neu.

Gondi and Kolami have the same fourfold distinctions, mas. sg., non-mas. sg., mas. pl. and non-mas. pl. here, as in the DPN and FV.

Exx. Gondi

vo:r	*pe:ṛa:l*	'that boy'
ad	*ba:yi*	'that woman'
ad	*ḍuyva:l*	'that tiger'
vu:r	*kalli:r*	'those thieves'
av	*ḍiyya:k*	'those young women'
av	*mara:k*	'those trees'

Kolami

am	*ko.lavan*	'that Kolam man'
at	*pilla*[6]	'that woman'
ad	*elka*	'that rat'
avr	*ma.sur*	'those men'
adav	*pillakul*	'those women'
adav	*elkal*	'those rats'

Burrow and Bhattacharya (1970:54) observe about Pengo under feminine demonstrative pronouns that 'occasionally

[6] *at* and *ad* 'that' are due to Sandhi alternants and do not show feminine-neuter contrast.

but not often, these forms (demonstrative pronouns) are used attributively, *adel kogle* 'that woman'.

From the examples found in Bhattacharya (1961:95), there seems to be mas. and non-mas. contrast in the demonstrative singular pronoun in Naiki (Chanda).

Exx.

o:n	*ki:ken*	'that boy'
ad	*ba:yko*	'that woman'
i:n	*po:rak*	'this boy'
id	*i:r*	'this water'

The usage with regard to plural is not known [7].

Emeneau has observed one special usage (1967b:132) in the use of demonstrative pronoun in Kota. When a demonstrative pronoun preceding a kinship term is a possessive attribute ('his father', 'her son' etc.), the only forms found are the masculine and feminine singular, and the demonstrative has the gender of the kinship term, i.e., the number and sex of the possessor or possessors are neutralised and are determinable only from the context. Exx. *avn ayn̥* 'his, her, their father', *avḷ av* 'his, her, their mother'.

avnm avaḷ peḍm 'he and his wife' (Lit. her wife)

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[7] Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953:9) have observed another kind of concord in the adjectives of Parji.

i: manja viled mēdad 'this man is white'

i: ayal vilot mēda 'this woman is white'

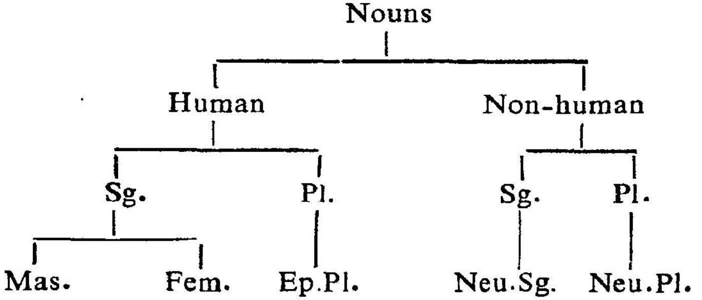
But the situation in other languages is not known.

avnm avan ayṇm	'he and his father'
avḷm avn a:ḷm	'she and her husband' (Lit. his husband)
avḷm avḷ avm	'she and her mother'

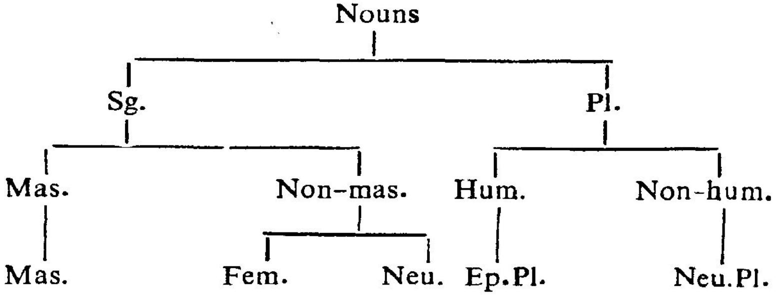
These show that in Kota there is concord between demonstrative pronoun and the following noun atleast in certain words.

Let us now discuss the classification of nouns in various Dravidian languages according to their gender-number system. Since the gender-number system found in the DPN is the basic one and the pronominal reference in the FV is now considered as belonging to the transformotional structure of the language (i.e., additional transformation will introduce the pronominal reference to the FV), the nouns should be classified on the basis of the system prevalent only in the DPN.

It should be pointed out that the gender-number system is hierarchically arranged because there is difference between the system found in the singular and plural. For instance, in Telugu, feminine is part of the neuter in the singular, and part of the masculine in the plural. Similarly, Tamil has only number distinction in the non-human nouns and mas. and fem. distinction in the sg. of the human nouns. The hierarchical arrangements of gender-number system of Tamil is as follows : (Agesthialingom and Sundaram, 1969)



The existence of separate interrogative pronouns for the human (*ya:r* 'who') and the non-human (*ya:tu* 'which') nouns and the concord in the construction, Noun+Plural Numeral appellative nouns confirm the above arrangement. The hierarchical arrangements of fourfold distinctions of Telugu is as follows :



The further sub-division of non-mas. is necessitated by the fact that the fem. nouns take different plural suffix and they have also special forms (*a:me* ~ *a:viḍa* 'that woman (hon.)' as the honorific singular.

The arrangement of other languages will be discussed later.

1.1.3. MORPHOLOGICAL DISTINCTION

The classification so far discussed is purely syntactic and not semantic oriented.[8] But the morphological study of the nouns reveals the following facts :

1) There are a limited number of human nouns having mas. and fem. distinction (*mak-an* 'son', *mak-aḷ* 'daughter') at the morphological level. This is true with respect to all the Dravidian Languages except Brahui.

2) In all the languages, neuter singular is unmarked morphologically.

3) Gondi, Koya, Konḍa, Kui and Kuwi have separate suffix for feminine in the human nouns, and

4) plural alone has marker in all the languages.

1.2. Animate - Inanimate

This is a cross classification of the nouns because animate nouns include human nouns as well as the neuter nouns having life like cat, rat etc.

Tamil differentiates between the animate and inanimate nouns. The inanimate nouns in Tamil take locative suffix *-il* while animate nouns take the post-positions like *kaṇ*, *pakkal* etc (for full discussion, see chapter 6.)

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[8] There is masculine and feminine contrast even in the neuter noun. Exx. PDr **a:n* 'cow' (283) and **erutu* 'bullock' (698); Proto Ta.-Ma. *ce:val* 'cock' (2217) *ko:ḻi* 'fowl' (1862); Kol. Nk (Ch.) *sir* 'female buffalo' (2104) Kol. *aliak* 'male buffalo' etc. But the distinction is ignored because it has no syntactical significance.

The addition of accusative suffix is optional in the case of inanimate nouns and obligatory in the case of animate nouns in the languages like Malayalam, Kota, Kannada, Gondi and Koṇḍa.

1.3. Count nouns - Mass nouns

Mass nouns in most of the languages do not take plural suffix. However, there are some exceptions in the CDr. and NDr. languages. Some of the mass nouns are found to occur with the plural suffix. For instance, in Telugu, the names of the grains except when used as adjective or when spoken of as a crop should be pluralised (Arden, 1937:63).

Telugu

idi jonna mokka 'This is a choolam shoot' – sg.

jonna ba:ga: paṇḍinada: 'Has there been a good crop of choolam' – sg.

baja:rulo: jonnala unna:ya:? 'Are there any choolam grains in the bazaar'-pl.

The other nouns such as *pa:lu* 'milk' *biyyam* 'rice' and *ni:ḷḷu* 'water' (sg. *ni:ru*) are always used in plural. That is to say, they take neu. pl. finite verbs. Exx. *ni:ḷḷu unna:yi* 'There is water (Lit. are water)'

But there are other nouns like *nu:ne* 'oil'. *piṇḍi* 'flour', *majjiga* 'butter milk' etc. behave always as neu. sg.

In Koṇḍa *perku* 'rice', *mi:sa:ṅku* 'moustache', *sa:Rkeṅ* 'blackgrams' etc. are always used as plural and other nouns

like *pu:ki* 'honey', *so:tu* 'salt' etc. are used as sg. There are some other mass nouns which have both sg. and pl. forms.

Sg.		Pl.
ni:ṟu	'ashes'	*ni:Rku*
pa:lu	'milk'	*pa:lku*
zona	'millet'	*zoneṅ*

sidru 'water' in Kui always governs a plural verb, *ira:mbu* 'blood' has the plural from *jra:pka*.

Kuwi has pl. (*mañjina*) for *manji* 'rice'

In Pengo, *e:zuṅ* 'water' and *kaḷiṅ* 'liquor' etc. are only used as the plural.

Kolami has plural forms for some of the mass nouns.

Sg.		Pl.
bi·am	'rice'	*bi·al*
esar	'water boiled for cooking grain'	*esarsil*
godma	'grain of wheat'	*godmal* etc.

In Parji (*vercil*) and Gadaba (*varsil*), the word for paddy is always used as plural.

Brahui adds the plural suffix to some of the mass nouns.

Sg.		Pl.
taho	'wind'	*tahok*
pin	'name'	*pink*
k͟holum	'wheat'	*k͟holumk*

pa:ḻh	*'milk'*	*pa:ḻhk*
di:r	'water'	*di:k*

It can be pointed out here Tamil can have plural form for the mass noun but the plural forms denote only different varieties of the thing.

pa:l	'milk'	*pa:l(u)kaḷ*	different varieties of milk'
paruppu	'dhall'	*paruppukaḷ*	'different varieties of dhall etc.'

There is another difference between these two types of nouns and this may be an universal feature. The count nouns can take numeral adjective directly, (Ta. *iraṇṭu maram* 'two trees' Ka. *eraḍu mara* 'id' Te. *reṇḍu ceṭlu* 'id' etc.) while the mass nouns cannot be done so. The construction will be of the pattern of

Num + { Nouns of weight / Nouns of measure / Nouns of length / Nouns denoting kind } + Mass Noun

Tamil

na:lu vi:cai puḷi	'tamarind of four viss'
na:lu na:ḻi pa:l	'milk of four na:ḻis'
na:lu ve:li nilam	'land of four ve:lis' etc.

Malayalam

na:lu ka:ṇam pon	'four ka:ṇams of gold'
oru se:ru pa:l	'one seer of milk'

Kota

or o:k akki	'one o:k measure of rice'
e:y oḷk pa:l	'seven oḷk measures of milk'
ir koḷakm a:minj vatm	'two koḷaka measures of beans'

Toda

wīr ok po·s	'milk of one acok measure'

Kannada

eraḍu se:ru ha:lu	'two seers of milk'
mu:ṟu khaṇḍuga bhatta	'three khandugas (a measure) of paddy'

Tulu

raḍḍu vi:sa sakkare	'two viss of sugar'
oñji se:ru pe:r	'one seer of milk'

Telugu

mu:ḍu vi:sela oṅka:yalu	'three viss of brinjal'
mu:ḍu se:rla pa:lu	'three seers of milk'

Koṇḍa

aydu mu:ttiṅaṇi nu:ne	'five varieties of oil'
e:ṟu kuṇḍeṅ vesni e:ṟu	'seven pots of water'

It should be observed here that Tamil, Malayalam, Toda, Kannada and Tulu use only singular form of the nouns of weights, noun of measures etc., Koṇḍa uses the plural form and Telugu the plural oblique form of these nouns.

1.4. Nouns of Time

One common feature of the time nouns is that the ablative form of these nouns can co-occur with all the verbs unlike the ablative form of other nouns which can occur with the verbs of motion only.

Nouns of time generally take the locative, the ablative and the dative only. In most ofthe Dravidian languages, the noun denoting hours takes obligatorily the dative but it signifies the locative meaning only.

Ta.	*avan̲ mu:n̲r̲u maṇikku vanta:n̲*	'he came at three o'clock.'
Ma.	*avɛ mu:ṇu maṇikku vannu*	'id'
To.	*mu:nḍ moṇyk podpini*	'id'
Ka.	*ava mu:r̲u gaṇṭage banda*	'id'
Tu.	*a:ye mu:ji gaṇṭege batte*	'id'
Te.	*va:ḍu mū:ḍu gaṇṭalaku vaccenu*	'id'
Koṇḍa	*mu:nr̲i gaṇṭañañ pir̲u reyned*	'It will rain at three o'clock'

Here also Telugu uses the plural oblique form of *gaṇṭa* 'hour' and Koṇḍa, the plural form only. With the other time nouns, (the addition of) locative suffix is optional.

OTa. *taii tiṅkaḷ taṇṇiya tarin̲um* 'even if (the mistress) gave the things which are cold (in) the month of Tai (kur̲. 196.4)

elli varunar 'one (hon) who comes (in) the night' (Kur̲. 47.3)

Ka. *a: citravannu i:ra:tri torisala:guvudu* 'that film will be shown to-night'

i: tiṅgaḷu u:rige hoguttaːne 'he is going to the village this month'

Tu. *i: tingoḷu kaːgada tigiṇḍu* 'I got a letter this month'

Te. *po:yina samvatsaram (lo:) paṇṭalu paṇḍale:du* 'last year the crops did not yield well.'

Koya *orro ne:ṇḍu ando:ru kudi o:disito:ru* 'all the people will sit down and decide (on) a day.'

Pa. *ne:ci ba:r parputinas* 'Today we will eat a feast'

Kol. *indeḍ ni·v ipaṭe kak vaḍi vaḍi* 'Today you make bread quickly'

Kur. *pairim a:phisgusan khoṇḍorka:ṟa a:* 'assemble at the office (in) the morning'

However Brahui uses the ablative and conjunctive (sociative) cases with the time nouns.

Abl.: *de: a:n hinar* 'they went by day'

Conj.: *sha:mato ba:re: va* 'I will come in the evening'
sabato bash mass 'he got up at dawn'

1.5. Place Names

It is necessary to distinguish between the proper names (*aṇṇa:malainakar* 'Annamalainagar', *citamparam* 'Chidambaram' etc.) and common names (*vi:ṭu* 'house', *paḷḷiku:ṭam* 'school' etc.) in the place-names because the former do not take plural suffix and the numeral adjective 'one'. There is another difference between these two kinds of place-names but it is not uniform in all the Dravidian languages. That is, the dative suffix is optional in the case of proper names when they are in immediate constituent relationship with the

verbs meaning go, come, reach etc. (i.e. verbs of movements), and obligatory in the case of common names in Modern Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Toda and Telugu. But it is obligatorily used in Kannada, Tulu and Kolami in both the types and the dative suffix is absent in Old Tamil and Kuṛux.

Dative optional in the proper names

NTa. *avan̲ u:rukku po:n̲a:n̲* 'he went to a village'
avan̲ citamparam po:n̲a:n̲ 'he went (to) Chidambaram

Ma. *avan vi:ṭṭil po:yi* 'he went to the house'
avan poyyanu:r po:yi 'he went (to) Poyyanur'

However, the situation in Malayalam is somewhat complicated. In certain other place names, the dative seems to be obligatory.

To. *aθ to:ro:ṛmod̲ pī:ti* 'he goes (to) Taranad mund'

Ko. *a:n ka:ka:lk o:be:n* 'I shall go to the village'
ni: kurgo:j vabī:yo: 'Are you coming (to) kurgoj'

Te. *vā:ḍu u:riki po:yenu* 'He went to a village'
vā:ḍu va:lte:ru po:yenu 'He went (to) Valtair'

Dative obligatory in both the types[9]

Ka. *avanu manege ho:da* 'he went to his house'
avanu maysu:rige ho:da 'he went to Mysore'

---

[9] In Kui, dative seems to be obligatory in the common nouns. *ketanga ṛu:a masatu na:ṭoki saseru* 'the man who had been ploughing the fields went home'. But the situation in the proper nouns is not known.

Tu. *a:ye u:rigɨ po:ye* 'he went to his village'
a:ye maysu:rigɨ po:ye 'he went to Mysore'

Kol. *amn(e) ellaṅ sedden* 'he went to his house'
a:n sa:tun na:kpu:ruṅ 'I will go to Nagpur'

Dative optional in both

OTa. *okkal mu:tu:r cenṟu* 'the kinsfolk having gone (to) an old village' (Patt. 9.215)
ka.ṉam cenṟo:r 'one (hon.) who went (to) the forest' (Kuṟ. 77.5)

Kur. *a:s erpa: ke:ras* 'he went home'
e:n ra:nchi ka:ʔaden 'I am going (to) Ranchi'

In some languages, the locative suffix is used in the directive sense when it governs the verb of movements.

OTa. *viḻaviṉ celva:m* 'we will go to the festival'(Kuṟ. 233.1)

Koṇḍa *va:nṟu va:ni inṟo soRan* 'he went to his house'

Nk.(Ch.) *portuṅ sertan* 'I am going to the hills'

1.6. Abstract Nouns

The special feature of this group of nouns is that the sociative suffix and the adverbial form of the verb *a:ku* 'become' are in free variation.

Ta. *aṉpoṭu pe:ciṉa:n* 'he talked affectionately'
aṉpa:ka pe:ciṉa:n 'id'

Ka. *nayadinda ma:ta:ḍida* 'talked pleasantly'
nayava:gi ma:ta:ḍida 'id'

Te. *ko:pamuto: ma:ṭala:ḍenu* 'he spoke with anger'
ko:paṅga: ma:ṭala:ḍenu 'id'
pre:mato: pilicenu 'he called with affection'
pre:maga: pilicenu 'id'

Tulu (§ 6.8.6) and Brahui (§ 6.22.2) use the reflexes of **oṭu* see for detail, (§ 6.23.3) in the sense of adverb of manner but it is not known whether it is possible to replace them with adverbial suffix.

Nouns can be classified into some other categories which will be useful in the syntactic description of the Dravidian languages but it is not attempted here because of the lack of data and information about their behaviour.

II

GENDER-NUMBER

The suffixes used to denote various gender-numbers in all the languages will be discussed descriptively first and then comparatively in this chapter.

As already noted, there are only a limited number of human nouns having morphological marker for the masculine and feminine. It is worthy of note that Caldwell has classified the nouns into substantives (inherent nouns) which have no formatives of gender and appellatives which have the gender terminations (1956:223).

I. APPELLATIVE BASES

The appellative base can be abstract or neuter nouns and derivative nouns (verbal derivatives) which are commonly known as verbal nouns (Caldwell, 1956:223). The following examples from the reconstructed forms (see § 2.3) can be quoted to confirm the above statement.

**mall-an*	'wrestler' (3871)	<	**mal* 'wrestling'
**keviṭ-an*	'deaf man' (1645a)	<	**keviṭu* 'deafness'
**irapp-an*	'beggar' (400)	<	**irappu* 'begging'
		<	*ira* 'beg'

Caldwell has objected to the view of Beschi who was of the opinion that the appellative nouns can also be formed from some verbal roots. Citing the example of *o:duva:n* 'a reader', Caldwell has said that 'it is an error' and 'those words are to be regarded as participial nouns'. This particular example is misleading one. But there are some appellative nouns derived from the verbal roots. For instance, **kaḷ-van* male-thief' (1156) is derived from the root **kaḷ* 'rob, steal' and this is found in almost all the Dravidian languages. Other examples are **ku:n-an* 'humb back' < **ku:n* 'curve' 'become crooked', **tiruṭ-an* 'male thief' < **tiruṭu* 'rob, steal' etc. These nouns should not be considered as participial nouns because of the following reasons:

1) Appellatives are not productive ones while the participial nouns are productive. Most of the appellative nouns can have maximum three forms, viz., masculine, feminine and epicene plural (Ta. *kaḷvaṉ* 'male thief', *kaḷvi* 'female thief', *kaḷvar* 'thieves') whereas all the participial nouns have five forms, viz., mas., fem., ep. pl., neu. sg., and neu. pl. (*kaṇṭa:ṉ* 'he who saw' *kaṇṭa:ḷ* 'she who saw' *kaṇṭa:r* 'they (hum.) who saw', *kaṇṭatu* 'that which saw and *kaṇṭavai* 'those which saw')

2) The appellative nouns can be qualified by the adjectives while the participial nouns can be modified by the adverbs.

Ta. *oru tiruṭaṉ* 'one thief'

periya kaḷvaṉ 'big thief' but not

**peritu kaḷvaṉ*

peritu tiruṭiyavaṉ 'he who has robbed more'

(Here *tiruṭiyavaṉ* is the participial noun and *peritu* 'greatly, more' is an adverb)

Ma. *valiya kaḷḷan* 'big thief' but not
**valiya:ti kaḷḷan*

Ka. *doḍḍa kaḷḷa* 'big thief'

Caldwell has objected rightly to the formation of the appellative nouns from the adjective forms like *koṭiya* 'cruel', *koṭiyan* 'cruel man'. *kotiyan* is a participial noun because it can be modified by the adverb, *ciṟitu koṭiyaṉ* 'he who is cruel to some extent'. But there are a few appellatives derived from the adjective bases like **mutu* 'old', **kiṟu* 'small' etc. They are **mutukkan* 'aged man' (4057) and **kiṟukkan* 'boy, son' (1326) etc. These nouns differ from the type discussed above. The latter can co-occur with genitive case and the former with the comparative case.

Ta. *avaṉ eṉ ciṟuvaṉ* 'he (is) my son'
avaṉ nalla ciṟuvaṉ 'he (is) a good boy' but not
**avaṉ eṉṉiṉ ciṟuvaṉ* 'he is younger than me'
avaṉ eṉṉiṉ ciṟiyaṉ 'id' but not
**avaṉ eṉ ciṟiyaṉ* 'he (is) my boy'

ciṟuvaṉ is the appellative noun and *ciṟiyaṉ*, the participial noun.

Ma. *avan eṉḏe ceṟukkan* 'he (is) my boy'
avan ennaka:l ceṟiyavana:nu 'he is younger than me' but not

**avan ende ceṟiyan*	'he (is) my son'
**avan ennakka:l ceṟukkana:nu*	'he is younger than me'

ceṟukkan is the appellative noun and *ceṟiyan*, the participial noun.

Ka.	*avanu oḷḷe muduka*	'he is good aged man' but not
	**avanu oḷḷe kiriya*	'he is good boy'
	avanu nanaginta muduka	'he is aged (man) than me'
	avanu nanaginta kiriya	'he is younger than me'

muduka is an appellative noun and *kiriya*, a participial noun. But it is not clear why *muduka* also co-occurs with the comparative case in Kannada.

There are instances of appellative nouns which are participial nouns in origin. But they cease to function as participial nouns and behave like appellative nouns. Even though a common example is not found, the tendency is found in Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Kolami.

OTa.	*ca:ṉṟo:r*	'scholars, learned men' (Puṟ. 34.30)		
	a:ṉṟo:r	"	"	(Naṟ. 233.8)
	porunaṉ	'king' (Puṟ. 61.12)		

These nouns can be qualified by an adjective or a relative participle. Exx.

pal ca:ṉṟo:r	'many scholars'
etirntu koḷḷum ca:ṉṟo:r	'scholars who (are) accepting' (Puṟ. 375.8)

Note the occurrence *ca:ṉṟa–* a relative participle which was fitting (Puṟ. 11.7).

Mod. Ta. *peṟṟo:r* ‘parents’
nalla peṟṟo:r ‘good parents’
peṟu ‘give birth to’;
peṟṟa ‘one who has given birth to (someone)’

Ma. *paḍaccavan* ‘god’ < *paḍa* ‘create’
kaṭṭiyavaḷ ‘wife’ < *kaṭṭu* ‘tie, marry’

Ka. *hettavaru* ‘parents’
oḷḷe hettavaru ‘good parents’

Kol. *kayṅgekan* ‘male cross-cousin (lit. the man with whom one will laugh)’
kayṅgekad ‘female cross-cousin (lit. the woman with whom one will laugh)’

These are derived from the verbal stem *kayṅg* ‘to laugh’.

II. DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

As the masculine and feminine suffixes occur with a limited number of human nouns, it is not possible to give phonological conditioning. The complete set of stems occurring with those suffixes is not given here not only for want of space but also for its non-importance for the comparative study.

2.1. **Tamil**

The material is mainly taken from OTa. (Shanmugam, f. a.).

2.1.1. MASCULINE

There are eleven suffixes, viz., *-aṉ,-a:ṉ,-vaṉ,-naṉ,-ñaṉ, iyaṉ,-o:ṉ,-aṉaṉ,-avaṉ,-ttaṉ* and *-kkaṉ*.

-aṉ

kiḻam-aṉ > *kiḻavaṉ* 'chief' Tol. 1038, Patt. 10.106
uḻav-aṉ 'ploughman' Kuṟ. 181.4
mak-aṉ 'son' Naṟ. 212.8, Patt. 4.284, 'man' Aka. 48.25
maṉṉ-aṉ 'king' Puṟ. 186.2
a:y-aṉ 'shepherd' Kal. 113.7
ka:tal-aṉ 'lover' Tol. 1025, Aiṅ. 431
paratt-aṉ 'debauchee' Aka. 146.9
muti-y-aṉ 'old man' Puṟ. 389.12
maint-aṉ 'warrior' Puṟ. 271.8, 'son' Par. 13.37, Cil 29.13
iḷai-y-aṉ 'young man' Puṟ. 72.2

-aṉ is a free variation with *-ñaṉ* after *iḷai-*, with *-o:ṉ* after the stems *mutt-* and *kiḻam-* and with *-avaṉ* after *maṉṉ-*.

-a:ṉ occurs only after the stem *pa:rpp-* and it is in free variation with *-aṉaṉ*.

pa:rppa-a:ṉ 'brahmin' Tol. 1445, Tir. 134.

-vaṉ

ciṟu-vaṉ 'boy, son' Tol. 1025, Kuṟ. 45.4
talai-vaṉ 'hero' patt. 10 569, Naṟ. 300.9
pakai-vaṉ 'enemy' Pat. 61.6, Naṟ. 260.10
ke:ḷ-vaṉ 'husband' Puṟ. 294.9
kaḷ-vaṉ 'thief' Aka. 235.11

This is in free variation with *-naṉ* and *-avaṉ* mostly after the stems ending *-ai.*

-naṉ

vilai-naṉ 'seller'
viṉai-naṉ 'ploughman'
poru-naṉ 'warrior' Puṟ. 78.6, Aka. 137.13
'king' Puṟ. 61.12, 'dancer' Puṟ. 389.5

It is in free variation with *-ñaṉ* after *-ai* ending.

pakai-ñaṉ 'enemy' Puṟ. 180.7
vilai-ñaṉ 'seller'
kiḷai-ñaṉ 'relative'
iḷai-ñaṉ 'young man, boy'

-iyaṉ

kamm-iyaṉ 'man of smith case'
'Naṟ. 94.4, Patt. 6.521

-o:ṉ

kiḻam-o:ṉ > kiḻavo:ṉ 'hero' Tol. 987, Aka. 356.13
aṟam-o:ṉ > aṟavo:ṉ 'virtuous man' Cil. 10.12
iḷai-y-o:ṉ 'young man' Puṟ. 96.2

-aṉaṉ

pa:rpp-aṉaṉ 'brahmin' Tol. 1021, Naṟ. 321.4

-avaṉ

iṟai-y-avaṉ 'king' Cil. 10.126
maṉṉ-avaṉ 'king' Aiṅ. 447, Kal. 8.2
teṉṉ-avaṉ 'southerner' (i.e. Pandiyan) Aka. 138.7

-ttaṉ

oru-ttaṉ > *ottaṉ* Kal. 60.9

(This is found in LOTa. only)

-kkaṉ

ciṟu-kkaṉ Peri. Tm. 1.4.2

This is found in Early Middle Tamil.

2.1.2. FEMININE

There are eleven suffixes, viz., *-aḷ*, *-i*, *-tti*, *-cci*, *-vi*, *-mi* *-a:ḷ*, *-o:ḷ*, *-a:tti*, *-a:ṭṭi* and *-aṉi*.

-aḷ

mak-aḷ 'daughter' Tol. 648, Pat. 13.15

-i

to:ḻ-i 'girl-friend' Tol. 982, Naṟ. 46.4
ka:tal-i 'love' Aiṅ. 71, Kuṟ. 120.2
ma:m-i 'aunt' Cil. 29.85
kiḻam-i > *kiḻavi* 'heroine' Tol. 1059

It is in free variation with *-tti* after the stem *kiḻam-*.

-tti

pulai-tti 'washer woman' Kuṟ. 330.1
'low caste woman' Puṟ. 259.5
a:y-tti 'herds woman' Kal. 108.9
oru-tti 'one woman' Aiṅ. 369, Aka. 109.3
kuṟam-tti > *kuṟatti* 'woman of kuṟava caste' Puṟ. 108.1
kiḻam-tti > *kiḻatti* 'heroine' Tol. 1039, Aka. 86.19

eyiṉ–tti > *eyiṟṟi* 'woman of Eyin caste' Patt. 3.175
umaṇ–tti > *umaṭṭi* 'woman of salt maker caste' Patt. 3.160

–cci

a:y–cci 'herds woman' Kal. 106.32, Cil. 15.206

This is the palatalised form of *-tti* and is found from LOTa. only.

-vi

maṉai-vi 'wife' Tol. 1097.7
tuṇai-vi 'female assistant' Aiṅ. 410
cel–vi 'queen, goddess' Aka. 345.4, Patt. 4.459
kaḷ–vi 'female thief' Kuṟ. 312.2, Kal. 108.29

–mi

ciṟu–mi 'girl' Kal. 65.10, Cil. 17.28.2

–a:ḷ

ma:tar–a:ḷ 'woman' Cil. 17.7.2
maṭam–a:ḷ > *maṭava:ḷ* 'id' Cil. 7.38.9
maṉai–y-a:ḷ 'wife' Cil. 9.7

-o:ḷ

kiḻam–o:ḷ > *kiḻavo:ḷ* 'heroine' Tol. 1093.43
iḷai–y–o:ḷ 'girl' Naṟ. 143.5
maṟai–y-o:ḷ 'brahmin lady' Cil. 30.95

–a:ṭṭi

ariyal-a:ṭṭi 'woman who sells toddy' Aka. 245.9
ayalil-a:ṭṭi 'woman (in) the neighbourhood' Kuṟ. 201.1
mu:t–a:ṭṭi 'old woman' Maṇ. 6.157

This is nothing but the combination of *a:ḷ* + *tti*.

-aṉi

pa:rpp-aṉi 'brahmin lady' Cil. 30.69, Maṇ. 13.5

-ai

paratt-ai 'prostitute' Tol. 987, Aka. 25.12

-a:tti

vaṇṇ-a:tti 'washer woman'
taṭṭ-a:tti 'woman of goldsmith caste' etc.

This is found in later period only (Shanmugam, 1969:75).

2.1.3. EPICENE PLURAL

-ar, *-ir*, *-var*, *-nar*, *-ñar*, *-avar*, *-iyar*, *-a:r*, *-o:r*, *-ma:r*, *-aṉar* and *-kaḷ* are the suffixes for the epicene plural.

-ar

This occurs with the stems taking *-aṉ* as the masculine suffix. It also occurs after feminine suffixes and after many inherent human nouns and it is in free variation with *-var* after the stem *valai-*; with *-ma:r* after some inherent human nouns and with *-avar* after some stems. This is the most productive suffix in Tamil.

pa:ṇ-ar 'minstreals' Tol. 1037, Pat. 38.9
a:y-ar 'herdsmen' Tol. 967
maṟam-ar > *maṟavar* 'warriors' Naṟ. 18.6
valai-y-ar 'fishermen' Kal. 55.17
kiḷa-tti-y-ar 'mistresses' Tol. 1093.36
to:ḻ-i-y-ar 'female friends' Par. 16.24

ta:y-ar 'mothers' Tol. 983, Nar. 310.7
tañkai-y-ar younger sisters' Aka. 320.3
tantai-y-ar 'fathers' Tol. 1093.23

-ir

ke:ḷ-ir 'relatives' Pur. 42.17, Par. 20.87
ve:ḷ-ir 'the people belonging to Ve:ḷ clan' Aka. 246.12
peṇṭ-ir 'ladies' Aiṅ. 13, Patt. 5.11
mak-aḷ-ir 'ladies' Nar. 30.5, Aka. 32.7

-var

This occurs mostly with the stems taking *-van* as the masculine suffix and also after the numeral stems from two onwards. It is in free variation with *-ñar* and *-nar* after some stems ending in *-ai*.

talai-var 'chieves' Tol. 985, Aka. 245.7
kaḷ-var 'thieves' Tol. 1202, Kur. 127.6
vilai-var 'merchants' Pat. 76.5
pakai-var 'enemies' Pur. 213.5
valai-var 'fishermen' Aiṅ. 180
cel-var 'rich men' Patt. 6.442
ai-var 'five persons' Patt. 6.755
eṇ-var > *eṇmar* 'eight persons' Cil. 26.129
patin-var > *patinmar* 'ten persons' Patt. 4.415, Pat. 14.5

-nar

This occurs with the stems which can take *-ñan* as the masculine suffix and it is in free variation with-*ñar* after some stems ending in *-ai*.

vilai-nar 'merchants' Kuṟ. 117.6
makiḻ-nar 'chieves of the agricultural tract'

-ñar

muṉai-ñar 'warriors' Tol. 1003
aṟi-ñar 'learned men' Patt. 6.481
kiḷai-ñar 'relatives' Aka. 58.16, Puṟ. 61.8
vinai-ñar 'farmers' Pat. 58.16, Puṟ. 61.8
'servants' Patt. 4.211
vilai-ñar 'merchants' Aiṅ. 81.2, Pat. 76.5
pakai-ñar 'enemies' Puṟ. 213.5, Pat. 62.12

-avar

teṉṉ-avar 'Pandyas' Puṟ. 380.5
ka:tal-avar 'lovers' Aka. 45.6, Par. 11.124
maṉṉ-avar 'kings' Par. 10.59

-iyar

ku:v-iyar 'pancake sellers' Patt. 4.377
ka:ḻ-iyar 'washermen' Aka. 82.7, Cil. 5.24
kamm-iyar 'smiths' Naṟ. 153.2, Patt. 6.52

-a:r

It occurs with the stems which can take *-a:ṉ* as the masculine suffix and after some inherent nouns.

pa:rpp-a:r 'brahmins' Tol. 1453, Puṟ. 34.3, Pat. 63.1
ka:rikai-y-a:r 'ladies' Cil. 26.111

-o:r

aṭi-y-o:r 'servants' Tol. 969
va:ṉ-o:r 'celestials' Tol. 1092.13, Patt. I.260
iḷai-y-o:r 'young ones' Aka. 90.2

-ma:r

This occurs mostly after inherent human nouns and is found from MOTa.

ai-ma:r 'brothers' Puṟ. 342.5
aiyaṉ-ma:r 'id' Kal. 107.35
to:ḻ-i-ma:r 'maids' Aka. 15.9
ta:y-ma:r 'mothers' Cil. 24-10-1
Cf. *ta:yar* 'id' Tol. 983
pa:vai-ma:r 'ladies' Cil. 29-26-5

-aṉar

pa:rpp-aṉar 'brahmins' Tol. 1021, Naṟ. 321.4

-kaḷ

It occurs only after inherent nouns. This is attested from LOTa.

va:ḷi-kaḷ 'swordsmen' Par. 9.54
no:ṉpi-kaḷ 'ascetics' Cil. 10.124, Maṇ. 3.75
peṇ-kaḷ 'ladies' Cil. 30.50

This can also be added with other suffixes like *-ar*, *-var* etc. from LOTa. This is because the forms with *-ar*, *-var* etc. were also used as honorific singular (Shanmugam, 1969:74). This is found from LOTa.

arac-arkaḷ 'kings' Kal. 253
pu:ri-y-arkaḷ 'low people' Tir. 919
ciṟu-mi-y-arkaḷ 'young girls' Cil. 17.28.2
ai-varkaḷ 'five persons' Kal. 26.6
ke:ḷ-irkaḷ 'relatives' Kal. 149.8
va:ṉ-o:rkaḷ 'celestials' Cil. 24-23-4

2.1.4. NEUTER PLURAL

Tolka:ppiyar, the author of Tolka:ppiyam has observed that it is not obligatory to add the plural suffix *-kaḷ* in the neuter nouns (Tol. 654). It is almost true in the case of OTa. texts. For instance, there are only two instances each in Puṟ., Aka., and Aiṅ., three instances in Patt., and no instance in Kuṟ. of the use of the plural suffix in the neuter nouns.

ma:ṇpu-kaḷ 'qualities' Tol. 1098.4
ya:ṇṭu-kaḷ 'years' Puṟ. 357.4
araṇ-kaḷ 'forts' Pat. 44.13
iyaṅ-kaḷ 'instruments' Patt. 10.277 etc.

Note the use of the neu. sg. in form as neu. pl. in function.

ma: viraintaṉave: 'the horse(s) rushed' Aiṅ. 483.2 (Here the noun *ma:* 'horse' is in sg. and the FV *viraintaṉa* 'rushed' in pl.)

The following morphophonemic rules are necessary to explain the changes.

1. $m \rightarrow v \ / \ \check{V} - \ \& \ V$[1]

2. $t \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{ṭ} \\ \underline{t} \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \begin{bmatrix} \text{ṇ,ṭ} \\ \text{ṉ,ṟ} \end{bmatrix} -$

3. $\begin{bmatrix} m \\ \underline{n} \\ \text{ṇ} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \ / - \text{PP}$

4. $v \rightarrow m \ / \ \text{N} -$

[1] There is one instance where this rule does not operate. *kaḷam-ar* 'ploughers' Aka. 366.3, Cil. 10.125. The reason for this discrepancy is not clear.

2.2. Malayalam

2.2.1. MASCULINE

-an, -a:n and *-kkan* are used to denote masculine.

-an

uvacc-an 'drummer'
tacc-an 'carpenter'
mak-an 'son'

-a:n

taṭṭ-a:n 'goldsmith'
vaṇṇ-a:n 'washerman'

-kkan

ceṟu-kkan 'son/boy'

2.2.2. FEMININE

-i, -aḷ, -tti, -atti and *-a:tti* are the suffixes for feminine.

-i

poṭṭ-i 'dumb and deaf woman'

-aḷ

mak-aḷ 'daughter'

-tti

oru-tti 'one woman'
kora-tti 'Kurava woman'

-atti

ve:l-atti 'woman of ve:la caste'

tiyy-atti 'woman of Tiyya caste'
kumbar-atti 'woman of Kumbarā caste'

-a:tti

vaṇṇ-a:tti 'washer woman'
taṭṭ-a:tti 'woman of goldsmith caste'

2.2.3. EPICENE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-ar*, *-a:r*, *-var*, *-o:r*, *-avar*, *-ma:r* and *-kaḷ*. *-avar* is not found in the early inscriptions but attested in the early literary texts.

-ar

tacc-ar 'carpenters'
mann-ar 'kings'
maṅkai-y-ar 'ladies' etc.

-a:r

u:r-a:r 'villagers'
maṭav-a:r 'ladies' - KG.
ca:kki-y-a:r 'chakkiyars'
vaṇṇ-a:r 'washermen' etc.

-var occurs mostly after the numeral stems from two onwards.

iru-var 'two persons'
eṇ-var > *eṇmar* 'eight persons' etc.

-o:r

mu:tt-o:r 'elders'
mann-o:r 'kings' - KG. etc.

-avar

mann-avar 'kings'

-kaḷ

ca:tu-kaḷ > *ca:tukkaḷ* 'priests'
atika:ri-kaḷ 'officials'
muni-kaḷ 'ascetics'

This is also used after other suffixes like *-ar*.

uvacc-arkaḷ 'drummers'

-ma:r

This is found from 10th century in the inscriptional records and from early period in the literary texts.

kuma:ran-ma:r 'sons'
atikaḷ-ma:r 'ascetics'
potuva:ḷ-ma:r 'men of poduva:ḷ caste' etc.
aracan-ma:r 'kings'

2.2.4. NEUTER PLURAL

-kaḷ is the only suffix and this is optional as in Tamil.

aṭṭa-kaḷ 'leeches'

2.3. Kota

2.3.1. MASCULINE

The suffix is *-n*.

-n

par-n 'low caste man'
to-n 'Toda caste man'

pulg-n 'boasting man'
kurḍ-n 'blind man'
poṭ-n > *poṭṇ* 'foolish man'
kaḷ-n > *kaḷṇ* 'male-thief' etc.

2.3.2. FEMININE

-i, *-ti*, *-aḷ*, *-č* and *-a:č* are the suffixes used to denote feminine.

-i

po:ṭ-i 'foolish woman'
kaḷ-i 'female thief'
tirḍ-i 'id'
kurḍ-i 'blind woman'
pulg-i 'boasting woman' etc.

-ti

to-ti 'woman of Toda caste'
de:r-ti 'goddess'
ko:-ti 'woman of Kota caste'
may-ti 'woman of Badaga caste' etc.

-ḷ

av-ḷ 'that woman'

-č

kavaṛ-č 'woman of Kurumba caste'
par-č 'low caste woman'
paṇy-č 'woman of Panya caste'
park-č 'poor woman'

-a:č

doḍ-a:č 'important woman'
kun-a:č 'unimportant woman'
mu:nḏ-a:č 'three women'

2.3.4. EPICENE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-gu:ḷ* and *-r*.

-gu:ḷ

a:ḷ-gu:ḷ 'people'
peḍ-gu:ḷ 'wives'

-r

av-r 'those persons'
iv-r 'these persons'

2.3.5. NEUTER PLURAL

The suffix is *-gu:ḷ*.

-gu:ḷ

na:y-gu:ḷ 'dogs'
ka:ṛ-gu:ḷ 'fields'
marm-gu:ḷ 'trees'
kaṛt-gu:ḷ 'asses'

The addition of plural suffix is obligatory only in the inanimate nouns.

Sandhi rule:

$$n \rightarrow ṇ \,/\, \left\{ \begin{matrix} ṭ \\ ḷ \end{matrix} \right\} \&-$$

2.4. Toda

2.4.1. MASCULINE

The suffixes are *-n* and *-o:ḷ*.

-n

konoḍy-n 'Canarese man'
tuḷk-n 'Muslim man'
toṭxī-n 'goldsmith'
cakli-n 'cobbler'
koḷ-n > koḷṇ 'thief'
koḍ-n > koḍṇ 'Badaga husband'

-o:ḷ

kel-o:ḷ 'old man'
wis-o:ḷ 'dairy man'

2.4.2. FEMININE

-č, *-oč*, *-ty* and *-i* are the suffixes used to denote feminine.

-c

kurb-č 'Kurumba woman'
tulk-č 'Muslim woman'
par̲-č 'low caste woman'

-oč

kel-oč 'old woman'

-ty

wī.rxi-ty 'husband's brother's wife'
mad̲-ty 'Non-Toda woman'
toṭxī-ty 'woman of goldsmith caste'

-*i*

mi:m–i 'mother-in-law'
kiṟiṣtn–i 'Christian woman'

2.4.3. PLURAL

This is common to human as well as non-human nouns.

aθ–a:m 'they'
oḹ–a:m 'Toda men'
mox–a:m 'boys'
ku:x–a:m 'girls'
pö:ṛ–a:m 'Tamils'
ïr–a:m 'buffaloes'
pu:f–a:m 'flowers'
pe:ḹ–a:m 'fingers'

n → *ṇ*/C_R – where C_R represents the retroflex consonants.

2.5. Kodagu

2.5.1. MASCULINE

The suffix is *-ëⁿ*.

kaḷḷ–ëⁿ 'male-thief'
kivḍ–ëⁿ 'dumb man'
erap–ëⁿ 'beggar'
obb–ëⁿ 'one man'

2.5.2. FEMININE

-ati, -i, -ci, -aci and *-a* are the feminine suffixes.

-ati

koḍa-ati > *koḍavati* 'Coorg woman'
taṭṭ-ati 'woman of goldsmith caste'
maḍva:ḷ-ati 'washer woman'
mu:ḍ-ati 'foolish woman'
kurub-ati 'woman of Kuruba caste'

-i

kaḷḷ-i 'female thief'
kivḍ-i 'dumb woman'
mu:g-i 'id'

-ci

to:ṭi-ci 'scavenger woman'
na:yar-ci 'a Nayar woman'

-aci

ma:pḷ-aci 'woman of Mapla caste'
erap-aci 'beggar woman'

-a

obb-a 'one woman'
mo:v-a 'daughter'

2.5.3. EPICENE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-a(r), ka(ḷ), -ba(r)* and *-vë(r)*.

-a(r)

kaḷḷ-a(r) 'thieves'

kuriḍ-a(r) 'blind persons'
baḍav-a(r) 'poor people'
kumba:r-a(r) 'potters'

-ka(ḷ)

This occurs after some inherent nouns ending in a nasal and after masculine suffix *-ë*^{n}.

poṇ-ka(ḷ) > *poṅga* 'girls'
a:ṇ-ka(ḷ) > *a:ṅga* 'men'
mo:vë^{n}*-ka(ḷ)* > *mo:vë*^{n}*ga* 'sons'
ku:rë^{n}*-ka(ḷ)* > *ku:rë*^{n}*ga* 'dwarfs'
muḍavë^{n}*-ka(ḷ)* > *muḍavë*^{n}*ga* 'cripples'
ajji-ka(ḷ) > *ajjiya* 'grand mothers'
mudiki-ka(ḷ) > *mudikiya* 'aged women'
eravati-ka(ḷ) > *evavitiya* 'women of Erava caste'

-ba (r)

ib-ba(r) 'two persons'

-vë (r)

mu:-vë(r) 'three persons'
ay-vë(r) 'five persons'
ev-vë(r) 'seven persons'
na:-vë(r) 'four persons'

2.5.4. NEUTER PLURAL

The suffix is *-ka(ḷ)*

ko:dĕ^{n} -ka(ḷ) > *ko:dĕ^{n} ga* 'monkeys'

to:ḷĕ^{n} -ka(ḷ) > *to:ḷĕ^{n} ga* 'wolfs'

aṭṭe -ka(ḷ) > *aṭṭeya* 'leeches'

pu:ne- ka(ḷ) > *pu:neya* 'cats'

na:yi- ka(ḷ) > *na:yiya* 'dogs'

The sandhi rules that are necessary to explain the above forms are as follows:

1) $k \rightarrow g / \breve{e}^{n}-$

2) $k \rightarrow y / V_f -$

V_f = front vowels

3) $\left\{ \begin{matrix} r \\ ḷ \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow \emptyset / - \#$

2.6. Kannada

The data is mainly from the early inscriptions and Vaḍḍa:radhane (Kushalappa Gowda, 1963)

2.6.1. MASCULINE

The suffixes are *-an* and *-am*

-an

This is found only in the 7th century inscriptions.

aras-an 'king'

mag-an 'son'

-am

This is found from the 8th century inscriptions and in Vaḍḍa:radhane and is more common than *-an*

mag-am 'son'
kivuḍ-am 'deaf man'
orv-am 'one man'
keḷey-am 'male friend'

-iga(n)

This is found only in Modern Kannada.

ga:ṇ-iga(n) 'oil monger'
to:ṭ-iga(n) 'gardener'
amb-iga(n) 'boat man'

2.6.2. FEMININE

The suffixes are *-aḷ*, *-i* and *-ti*.

-aḷ

mag-aḷ 'daughter'
maduv-aḷ 'bride'
kiri-y-aḷ 'girl'
ka:dal-aḷ 'beloved'

-i

aras-i 'queen'
kuruḍ-i 'blind woman'
ga:muṇḍ-i 'wife of the village headman'

-ti

pola-ti 'outcaste woman'
pa:rvan-ti 'brahmin lady'
seṭṭi-ti 'the wife of the chairman of merchant guild'

2.6.3. EPICENE PLURAL

-ar, *-var* / *-bar*, *-dir*, *-vir*, *-ir*, *-kaḷ* / *-gaḷ* and *-a:r* are the suffixes to denote the epicene plural.

-ar

aras-ar 'kings'
kaḷḷ-ar 'thieves'
pa:ru-v-ar 'brahmins'
ell-ar 'all persons'
keley-ar 'relatives'

-var/*-bar*

This occurs mostly with the indefinite pronouns and with the numerals.

ani-bar 'that much of people'
palam-bar 'many people'
ainu:rb-bar 'five hundred persons'
mu:-var 'three persons'
e:ḻnu:ru-var 'seven hundred persons'

-dir

This occurs mostly after the kinship terms.

magan-dir 'sons'
magaḷ-dir 'daughters'
ma:van-dir 'fathers-in-law'
tamman-dir 'younger brothers'

-vir

This occur mostly with the inherent feminine nouns.

ta:y-vir 'mothers'

tamge-vir 'younger sisters'

There is one instance after common-human noun.

ta:ytande-vir 'parents'

-ir

This occurs after the plural suffix *-kaḷ*.

makkaḷ-ir 'children'
aṇṇamgaḷ-ir 'elder brothers'

-kaḷ/-gaḷ

It occurs mostly after inherent nouns.

bha:gi-gaḷ 'participators'
upaka:ri-gaḷ 'benefactors'
guru-gaḷ 'teachers'
ma:mam-gaḷ 'uncles'

-kaḷ can also be added with the other suffixes, especially with *-ar* and this is found from the 9th century in the inscriptional records and also found in Vaḍḍara:dhane.

gorav-arkaḷ 'masters, spiritual teachers'
ve:david-arkaḷ 'those well versed in vedas'
naṇṭ-arkaḷ 'relatives'
paṇḍit-arkkaḷ 'scholars'

-a:r

anindit-a:r 'irreproachable persons'
maha:de:viy-a:r 'queens'

2.6.4. NEUTER PLURAL

The suffix is *- gaḷ*.

vrata-gaḷ 'the religious vows'

mane-gaḷ 'houses'
pasu-gaḷ 'cows'
kal-gaḷ 'stones'
kaṇṇi:r-gaḷ 'tears'

2.7. Badaga

2.7.1. MASCULINE

The suffix is *-a(n)*.

-a(n)

holay-a(n) 'Polaya man'
tacc-a(n) 'carpenter'
kaḷḷ-a(n) 'thief'
ku:n-a(n) 'lame person'
aṇṇ-a(n) 'elder brother'

2.7.2. FEMININE

The suffix are *-aḷ*, *-i* and *-atti*.

-aḷ

av-aḷ 'that woman'
iv-aḷ 'this woman'

-i

ku:n-i 'hunch back'
mu:ng-i 'woman without nose'
kuruḍ-i 'blind woman'
kaḷḷ-i 'female thief'

-atti

oḍḍ-atti 'woman of stone-breaker caste'

karum-atti 'woman of Karuma caste'
todav-atti 'Toda woman'

2.7.3. EPICENE PLURAL

-avka(ḷ), -aru and *-go(ḷ)* are the epicene plural suffixes.

-aru

holay-aru 'Polaya men'
holatti-y-aru 'Polaya women'
sakkilig-aru 'Harijan males'
sakkiligatti-y-aru 'Harijan females'

-avka(ḷ)

This occurs mostly after kinship terms.

mamman-avka(ḷ) 'uncles'
mammi-y-avka(ḷ) 'aunts'
akkan-avka(ḷ) 'elder sisters'

-go(ḷ)

This occurs with inherent nouns.

heṇṇu-go(ḷ) 'girls'
ba:ttiya:r-go(ḷ) 'teachers'

2.7.4. NEUTER PLURAL

The suffix is *-go(ḷ)*

dana-go(ḷ) 'cattles'
ele-go(ḷ) 'leaves'
emme-go(ḷ) 'she-buffaloes'
mara-go(ḷ) 'trees'

2.8. Tulu

2.8.1. MASCULINE

The suffixes are *-e* and *-ige*.

-e

kuruḍ-e 'blind man'
kuṇṭ-e 'lame man'
kepp-e 'deaf man'

-ige

ga:ṇ-ige 'oil miller'

2.8.2. FEMININE

-i -ti and *-etti* are the feminine suffixes.

-i

kuruḍ-i 'blind woman'
kepp-i 'deaf woman'
go:ṇḍ-i 'stupid woman'
ma:m-i 'mother-in-law'

-ti

gurka:r-ti 'headman's wife'
mar-ti 'mad woman'
a:ca:r-ti 'carpenter's wife'
muyl-ti 'woman of a caste'

-etti[2]

		mas.
posab-etti	'stranger' (fem.)	: *posabe*
sa:ly-etti	'weaver's wife'	: *sa:lye*

[2] Shankara Bhat has not recognised *-etti* as one of the feminine suffixes. But when one compares with the masculine form, *-e* should be considered as part of the feminine suffix. Moreover, it is against the general pattern of the formation of feminine nouns, which is to add the feminine suffix to the stem and not to the masculine form.

2.8.3. EPICENE PLURAL

Brigel and Shankara Bhat have not made any distinction between epicene plural and neuter plural, most probably because of the overlapping of some suffixes in both the categories.[3] However, as the distinction is maintained in the finite verb, they have to be distinguished even in the nouns.

The suffixes are *-ru* (Brigel)/ *rï* (Shankara Bhat), *-kuḷu* (Brigel)/*kḷu* (Bhat), *-ḷu* and *-veru*. *rụ/ri* can be taken as *erụ/erï*.

-erụ/erï

ajj-erï 'grand fathers'
marl-erï 'mad men'
kartav-erụ 'lords'

-kuḷu/-kḷu

guru-kuḷu 'teachers'
bra:mmaṇe-kḷu 'brahmins'

-ḷu

arasu-ḷu 'kings'
de:varu-ḷu 'gods'
a:ṇu-ḷu 'boys'

After certain kinship terms, the plural suffix is preceded by *a:ḍ* (Brigel) / *aḍï* (Bhat).

amm-aḍḷu 'fathers'
app-a:ḍḷu 'mothers'

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[3] For instance *kudke* 'fox' *kudkerï* 'foxes' (Shankara Bhat (1967:81). But Brigel gives the plural form as *kudikerḷu* (1872:25).

mag-a:ḍḷu 'sons'
aty-aḍikḷu 'sisters-in law'
ba:v-aḍikḷu 'brothers-in-law'
paḷi-y-aḍikḷu 'sisters'
amman-a:kuḷu 'mistresses (Brigel)'

-veru

This occurs after the numeral stems, two to seven (Brigel).

ir-veru 'two persons'
na:l-veru 'four persons'
ye:ḷ-veru 'seven persons'

2.7.4. NEUTER PLURAL

The suffixes are *ḷu* and *kuḷu* (Brigel)/*kḷu* and *ḷu*(Bhat).

-kḷu

This occurs after the stems of (C) (C)VCV and monosyllables (Shankara Bhat).

pili-kḷu 'tigers'
ire-kḷu 'leaves'
krama-kḷu 'customs'
pu-kḷu 'flowers'
kay-kḷu 'hands'

-ḷu

This occurs elsewhere (Shankara Bhat)

karaḍi-ḷu 'bears'
a:ni-ḷu 'nails'
pucce-ḷu 'cats'

This generalisation holds good to the data found in Brigel except in the case of *tare* 'head' which takes *ḷu* according to Brigel.

tare-ḷu 'heads'

2.9. Telugu

The material is based on Old Telugu (Mahadeva Sastri, 1969).

2.9.1. MASCULINE

The suffixes are *-an* and *-nṟu*. *nṟu* has alternants like *ṇṟu* and *ṇḍu*.

-nṟu

uttamo:ttamunṟu 'the noblest of the noblest'
tabu-nṟu 'younger brother'
maga-nṟu 'son'

-ṇḍu

tamun-ṇḍu 'younger brother'
tanayu-ṇḍu 'eldest son'

This is found from 8th century onwards.

2.9.2. FEMININE

The suffix is *-a:ḷu* and it occurs only once in the 7th century inscription.

manamar-a:ḷu 'grand daughter'

Only in MTe. *-alu* is used as fem. suffix.

ko:ḍ-alu 'daughter'
celi-y-alu 'younger sister' etc.

2.9.3 EPICENE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-ur(u)*, *-ṟu*, *-vuru*, *-aḷ*, *-uḷ* and *-kaḷ*.

-uru

ve:v-uru 'thousand persons'
malin-uru 'wicked persons'

-ṟu

padunṟ-ṟu 'ten persons'
paga-ṟu 'enemies'

-vuru

iru-vuru 'two persons'
nalu-vuru 'four persons'

This has another alternant *-guru* from MTe. *-guru* occurs mostly after the numeral three onwards.

mu:-guru 'three persons'
pala-guru 'many persons'

-ṇḍru

enuma-ṇḍru 'eight persons'
tomma-ṇḍru 'nine persons'
padu-ṇḍru 'ten persons'

-uḷ

somandakam-uḷ 'subordinates'
co:ḻara:j-uḷ 'Chola kings'
ka:mp-uḷu 'farmers'

-aḷ

perdd-aḷ 'elders'

-ul

to:mb-ul 'younger brothers'
co:ḻamahara:j-ul 'Chola kings'

-kaḷ/kulu

kondu-kaḷ 'sons'
konḍu-kulu 'id'

The addition *-ru* or *-lu* after some of the above suffixes is found from Middle Telugu.

pekkaṇḍ-ruru 'many persons'
illa:ṇḍ-rulu 'house wives'

The addition of *-lu* became more common in the later period.

magalu 'husbands'
mallalu 'wrestlers'

2.9.4 NEUTER PLURAL

-ul, *-ḷu* and *-lu* are the neu. pl. suffixes.

-ul

prasa:damb-ul 'food offerings to god'

-ḷu

to:ṭa-ḷu 'gardens'
ve:saruvu-ḷu 'thousand tanks'

-lu

guḍ-lu 'temples'
ve:guḷuṟ-lu 'thousand villages'

2.10. Gondi

2.10.1. MASCULINE.

The suffixes are *-a:l*, *-o:r* and *-e:*.

-a:l

a:nd-a:l 'blind man'
bho:y-a:l 'fisher man'
ku:ṭ-a:l 'lame man'
ta:d-a:l 'elder brother'
mu:k-a:l 'dumb man'

-o:r

tott-o:r 'ancestor'
diyy-o:r 'young man'

-e:

kall-e:[4] 'thief'
sa:l-e: 'man of weaver's caste'

2.10.2. FEMININE

The suffixes are *-a:ṛ*, *-i:*, *-a:* and *-e:*

-a:ṛ

miyy-a:ṛ 'daughter'
kory-a:ṛ 'daughter-in-law'
se:l-a:ṛ 'younger sister'
bo:r-a:ṛ 'mother-in-law'
se:rnḍ-a:ṛ 'spouse's younger sister'

-i:

novr-i: 'bride'
pe:ṛ-i: 'girl'
mu:k-i: 'dumb woman'

---

[4] Subrahmanyam has not taken *-e:* either as a masculine or feminine suffix probably because it is used for both the genders. But the formal similarity may be due to the evolution of different masculine and feminine suffix. However, it is necessary to consider them separate at the morphological level.

–a:

ḍiyy–a: 'young woman'

–e:

kumm-e: 'woman of potter's caste'
moḍḍ–e: 'female child (of one month or less)'
canḍk-e: 'woman of Harijan caste'
varṭ-e: 'washer woman'

2.10.3. MASCULINE PLURAL

–r, *–i:r*, *-u:r*, *-vi:r* and *–k* are the mas. pl. suffixes.[5]

–r

kanḍi:–r 'boys'
be:pi:–r 'father's elder brothers'

-i:r

kall–i:r 'thieves'
saṛ–i:r 'sons-in-law'

–u:r

akk–u:r 'mother's fathers'
ḍiyy-u:r 'young men'
tott–u:r 'ancestors'

–vi:r

This occurs with the numeral bases, two to seven.

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[5] Instead of taking *i:r* and *u:r* occurring after masculine suffix (Subrahmanyam 1968a:33) and positing sandhi rules to explain the loss of the masculine suffix, they may be considered as occurring directly after stem.

–r also can be considered as *–i:r* and can be explained by the sandhi rule $\bar{V} \rightarrow \emptyset$ / – $\bar{V}$ which is found to operate in other words, also. See 2.2 and 2.7 in Subrahmanyam 1968a:21, 22.

iv-vi:r 'two males'
na:l-vi:r 'four males'
e:r-vi:r 'seven males'

-k

mar-k 'sons'
sernḍu:-k 'spouse's younger brothers'

2.10.4. NON-MASCULINE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-ṅ*, *-i:k*, *-k* and *-hk*.

-ṅ

This occurs after non-human nouns ending in a vowel.

ka:ya:-ṅ 'unripe fruits'
kurvi:-ṅ 'pots'
micco:-ṅ 'scorpions'
verce:-ṅ 'squirrels'

-i:k

This occurs after disyllabic nouns ending in *-a:l*.

ganda:l-ik 'vultures'
ḍurra:l-ik 'tigers'
ha:yha:l-i:k 'ploughs'

-k

This occurs elsewhere.

kaṭ-k 'eyes'
a:sku:r-k > a:sku:k 'axles'
mi:n-k 'fishes'
sukku:m-k > sukku:k 'axles'
takka:-k 'elder sisters'
a:ji:-k 'father's mothers'

ko:ve:-k 'red faced monkeys'
veylo:-k 'women'

-hk

This is found in the Gondi of Betul district (Trench, 1919:36).

se:no-hk 'old women'
tu:ri-hk 'girls'
se:la:-hk 'sisters'
tala:-hk 'heads'
ro:-hk 'houses'
minḍi-hk 'eye lashes'
mare-hk 'plumes'

Some of the forms are in free variation with *-ng* (i.e. *ṅ*).

se:no:-ng 'old women'
ma:re:-ng 'plumes'
minḍi-ng 'eye lashes'

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} r \\ m \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow \emptyset \ / \ \bar{V}- \ \& \ k$$

2.11. Koya

2.11.1. MASCULINE

The suffix is *-a:l* (Subrahmanyam, 1968a:113)

ann-a:l 'elder brother'
ma:m-a:l 'mother's brother'
mu:k-a:l 'old man'

2.11.2. FEMININE

The suffixes are *-a:ḍ* and *-o*.

mu:k-a:ḍ 'old woman'

mayy-a:ḍ 'daughter'

-o

ku:ṭ-o 'lame woman (Subrahmanyam 1968a:152 entry 199)

2.11.3. MASCULINE PLURAL

Subrahmanyam has given *-r* and *-o:r* as the mas. pl. suffixes. In the description of Tyler (1969), the suffixes, *-o:ru*, *-i:ru*, *-n*, *-ku*, *-sk* and *-vu:r* are found.

-o:r / *-o:ru*

anna:l-o:r > *annalo:r* 'elder brothers'
mu:ka:l-o:r > *mu:kalo:r* 'dumb men'
aṇṇal-o:ru 'elder brothers' - Tyler
ba:ṭal-o:ru 'elder male cross-cousins'

-r

a:ṇe-r > *a:ṇe:r* 'sons-in-law'

-i:ru

miḍiyam-i:ru 'Miḍiyam people'
a:riyam-i:ru 'Ariyan people'

-n

e:pa:ri-n > *e:pa:ri:n* 'marriage arrangers'
a:ṇe-n > *a:ṇe:n* 'sister's sons'

-k(u)

mar-k 'sons' - Subrahmanyam
manasu:r-ku 'men' - Tyler
indu:r-ku 'Hindus'

-sk

tammuṇḍ-sk > *tammask* 'younger brothers'
erruṇḍ-sk > *errask* 'younger male cross-cousins'

-vur[6] / *vu:r*

This occurs with the numeral bases.

Subrahmanyam	Tyler	
iruvur	*iruvu:ru*	'two males'
eyvur	*eyvu:ru*	'five males'
muvvur	*mu:vu:ru*	'three males'

2.11.4. FEMININE PLURAL

Subrahmanyam alone has set up feminine plural as a separate category probably because *-sk* is exclusively found for this in his data. But this is also found in the masculine plural, as already noted, as well as in the neuter plural in the Tyler's description. The suffixes are *-sk* and *-k(u)*.

-sk

e:la:ḍ-sk > *e:la:sk* 'younger sisters'
mayya:ḍ-sk > *mayya:sk* 'daughters'
tallu:r-sk > *tallask* 'mothers' - Tyler

-k(u)

mutte:-k 'wives'
na:ṭo:-k 'women'
akka:-ku 'elder sisters' - Tyler

2.11.5. NEUTER PLURAL

The suffixes are *-k*, *-i:*, *-n*, *-ku* and *-sk*.

[6] The forms found in the dictionary (Subrahmanyam, 1968a) items 57, 523, 334, 111 and 46) have *-vir* only. Subrahmanyam informs me that they are not discrepant in the transcription but they represent dialect differences. Note the other minor difference *yeyvur* 'five persons' in the grammar: *eyvir* 'id' in the dictionary.

-k

kay-k 'hands'
na:r-k > *na:k* 'villages'
lo:n-k > *lo:k* 'houses'

-i:

gogoḍ-i: 'cocks'
ojjel-i: 'ovens'

-sk

ji:vuṇḍ-sk > *ji:vask* 'spirits'
nela:-sk 'months'

-n

visi-n > *visi:n* 'flies'
meṭṭa-n > *meṭṭa:n* 'mountains'
piṭṭe-n > *piṭṭe:n* 'birds'

1. $V \rightarrow \check{V} / - \begin{bmatrix} \& V \\ \# \end{bmatrix}$

2. $\begin{bmatrix} \dot{d} \\ r \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \, / \, \bar{V} - \& \, s$

3. $[ṇḍ] \rightarrow \emptyset \, / \, ccu - \& \, s$

4. $u \rightarrow a \, / - \& \, s$

2.12 Konda

This is based on Krishnamurti (1969).

2.12.1 MASCULINE

The suffixes are *-a* and *-yen*

-a

kaṇ-a 'blind men'
gul-a 'stammerer (mas.)'

danṛ-a 'young man'
dokr-a 'old man'

-yen

guru-yen 'priest, shaman'
ga:nsi-yen 'a man of lower caste'
karsi-yen 'a man of Karsi caste'
kaṭka-yen 'miserly man'

2.12.2 FEMININE

-i, *-ṇi*, and *-ni* are the feminine singular suffixes.

-i

kaṇ-i 'blind woman'
donṛ-i 'young man'
ḍokr-i 'old woman'
kaṭk-i 'miserly woman'

This is in free variation with *-ni* after the stem *kaṭk-*.

-ni

ga:nsi-ni 'a woman of lower caste'
karsi-ni 'a woman of Karsi caste'
kaṭki-ni miserly woman'

-ni

guru-ṇi 'female priest'

2.12.3. MASCULINE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-r*, *-ku* and *-n(u)*.

-r

This occurs with the stems ending mostly in a vowel other than *-u*.

anasi-r 'elder brothers'
ṭoṇḍa-r 'male friends'
ba:ṭo-r 'brothers-in-law'

-ku

ra:s-ku 'kings'
rayt-ku 'farmers'
de:vuṇ-ku 'gods'

-ṅ/-ṅu

-ṅ occurs with the stems endings in a vowel and *-ṅu* elsewhere.

va:su-ṅ 'kings'
guru-ṅ 'teachers'
daṅra-ṅ > daṅreṅ 'young men'
ḍoṅar-ṅu 'thieves'

2.12.4. NON-MASCULINE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-ku, -k, -sku* and *- ṅu~ṅ.*

-ṅ ~ -ṅu

This occurs mostly with the stems of more than one syllable ending in the vowels *-i, -e, -o,* and *-u.*

kami-ṅ 'ear rings'
guḍe -ṅ 'fields'
ṟe:to-ṅ 'gabs'
ansu-ṅ 'edges'
kupa-ṅ > kupeṅ 'heaps'
paṇṭa-ṅ > paṇṭeṅ 'years'

Many dissyllabic stems ending in *-y, -r(i), -l(i)* and *-ṛ(u)* take the plural suffix *-ṅu.*

upay–ñu 'plans'
kundel–ñu 'rabbits' < *kundali*

-*k*(*u*) elsewhere

kop-ku 'braids of hair'
nores–ku 'tigers'
il–ku 'houses'
amb-ku > *apku* 'arrows'
paṇḍ–ku > *paṭku* 'fruits'
ro:z–ku > *ro:sku* 'days'
ga:nz-ku > *ga:sku* 'bangles'
verg–ku > *veRku*
tala-k > *talek* 'heads'
ayli–k 'girls'
ḍumu-k 'bones'
koro–k 'female children'

–*sku*

koronal–sku 'nursing mothers, women in birth pollution'

kaṇka-ku > *kaṇku* 'eyes' (haplology)
kurgu–ku > *kurku* > *kuRku* 'thighs'

$$a \rightarrow e \;—\; \& \begin{bmatrix} k \\ n \end{bmatrix}$$

$$[n] \begin{bmatrix} b \\ d \\ z \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} p \\ t \\ s \end{bmatrix} \Big| \quad - \& \; k$$

$$r \rightarrow R \mid -k$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} n \\ y \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; - \& \; k$$

$$\emptyset \rightarrow u \ / \begin{bmatrix} p \\ n \end{bmatrix}$$

-ku and *ńu* generally occurs after stem allomorphs in final consonants and *-k* and *-ń* after those in final vowels.

2.13. Pengo

2.13.1. MASCULINE SINGULAR

The suffixes are *-en* and *-an*.

-en

potl-en 'father-in-law'
toṇḍ-en 'brother'
husr-en 'wife's elder brother'
du.t-en 'old man'

-an

This is always preceded by (*a*)*k*-.

keynak-an 'peon'
du:tak-an 'old men'
na:ṭak-an 'villager'
haruk-an 'a small man'
injak-an 'man belonging to the house'

2.13.2. FEMININE SINGULAR

The suffix is *-el*.

toṛnd-el 'sister'
harukad-el 'small woman'

2.13.3 MASCULINE PLURAL

–r, *–n* and *–ku* are the masculine plural suffixes.

ṭonḍa–r 'brothers'
mṛa:kha-r 'thieves'
aṛiya-r 'plough men'
ce:la–r 'pupils'
go:ṭi–r 'servants'
kaṛde-r 'boys'
ako–r 'maternal grand fathers'

The suffix in the first two cases is *–ar*. *–ar* occurs after consonant and *-r* elsewhere.

–n

kumta–n 'potters'
keyna–n 'peons'

Here also the suffix is *-an*

–ku

kond–ku 'Khonds'
pot–ku 'fathers-in-law'

2.12.4. FEMININE PLURAL

The suffixes are *–k* and *–ik*.

-k

This occurs after the stems ending in a vowel.

aya-k 'mothers'
oni-k 'elder brother's wives'
kogle-k 'women'
ji:pli-k > *ji:pok* 'young women'
toṛndel–k > *toṛndek* 'sisters'

-ik

This occurs elsewhere

hatan-ik 'old women'

-ku

a:ṛ-ku > *a:cku* 'women'
ga:ṛ-ku > *gacku* 'daughters'

The stem alternation is irregular.

2.12.5 NEUTER PLURAL

-ku and *-ṅ*/*-iṅ* are the neu. pl. suffixes.

-ku

il-ku 'houses'
key-ku 'hands'
gruc-ku 'stumps'
co:r-ku 'thieves'
koz-ku > *kosku* 'fowls'
amb-ku > *apku* 'arrows'
**no:mb-ku* > *no:pku* 'ticks'
le:nj-ku > *le:cku* 'moons'
ku:nd-ru > *ku:tku* 'mushrooms'
pṛe:n-ku > *pṛe:ku*[7] 'bones'

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[7] Burrow and Bhattacharya [1970:30] explain *vesku* 'firewood' the plural form of *vezgu* 'stick of firewood' as follows: "The plural suffix *-ku* is substituted for the stem forming suffix of the singular *vezgu*". If so, the plural is formed by two morphological processes, addition and replacement. Since the replacement is unique in this language, it can also be explained as an addition. **vezgu-ku* > **vezku* > (due to haplology) *vesku* [note the similar change in *koz-ku* 'fowls' > *kosku*].

-ṅ

This occurs after a noun ending in a short vowels.

himṇa-ṅ ‘children’

ko:ḍi-ṅ ‘cows’

a:ndu-ṅ ‘anklets’

baḍge-ṅ ‘sticks’

ma:zo-ṅ ‘sesamums’

-iṅ

occurs after the disyllabic nouns ending in consonant.

temul-iṅ ‘hairs’

gadaṛ-iṅ ‘plantains’

kakos-iṅ > *kakohiṅ* ‘vomits’

vatus-iṅ > *vatuhiṅ* ‘finger rings’

$$[n] \begin{bmatrix} b \\ i \\ d \\ z \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} p \\ c \\ t \\ s \end{bmatrix} \Big| \ \text{-}k$$

2.14 Kui

2.14.1 MASCULINE SINGULAR

The suffixes are *-enju* and *-ra.*

-enju

mri:g-enju ‘cousin’

to:ṛ-enju 'friend'
ku:-enju 'Kond man'
gah-enju 'sweeper'

-ra

bru:ke-ra 'blind man'
pre:ko-ra 'an adulterer'
ahpo-ra 'a procurer'

2.14.2 FEMININE SINGULAR

-ali, *-eṛi* and *-ri* are the feminine singular suffixes.

-ali

mri:g-ali 'cousin' (fem.)
ku:-ali 'Kond woman'
gah-ali 'sweeper' (fem.)

-eṛi

poṭar-eṛi 'Mohammedan woman'
sahebor-eṛi 'English woman'
bo:tiḍ-eṛi 'woman of Botinga caste'

-ri

bru:ke-ri 'blind woman'
pre:ko-ri 'adulteress'
ahpo-ri 'procuress'

2.14.3 MASCULINE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-ru* and *-ka / ga*.

-ru

This occurs with the inherents nouns.

a:ba-ru 'fathers'
da:da-ru 'elder brothers'
a:po-ru 'sons'
ake-ru 'grand fathers'
tanji-ru > *tanjeru* 'fathers'

-ka

This occurs mostly with the stems taking masculine singular and feminine singular suffixes and with a few other inherent nouns. *-ga* occurs with the stems ending in a nasal and *-ka* elsewhere.

to:ṛen-ga 'male friends'
gahin-ga 'male sweepers'
poṭaṛan-ga 'mohammadans'
ambesa-ka 'younger brothers'
akenja-ka 'grand fathers'

2.14.4. FEMININE PLURAL

The suffix is *-ska~saka*

aja-ska ~ *ajasaka* 'mothers'
angi-ska 'younger sisters'
mri:gali-ska 'female cousins'
gahali-ska 'female sweepers'

2.14.5. NEUTER PLURAL

The suffixes are *-ka* and *-ga*. *-ga* occurs after the stems ending in a nasal[8] and *-ka* elsewhere.

ko:r-ka 'buffaloes'
na:j-ka > *na:ska* 'villages'
go:b-ka > *go:pka* 'branches of a bush'
ku:nd-ka > *ku:ıka* 'funguses'
kan-ga 'eyes'
ka:u > **ka:n-ka* > *ka:nga* 'fruits'
bo:ga > **bo:gam* > *bo:gan-ga* 'baskets'
ko:ḍi > **ko:ḍim* > *ko:ḍin-ga* 'cows'

-ka can be taken the base form and *-ga* can be explained by the sandhi rule.

1. $k \rightarrow g \mid n$ &–

There are many stem alternations:

$$[n] \begin{Bmatrix} j \\ b \\ d \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} s \\ \\ t \end{Bmatrix} - \& \; k$$

[8] Winfield [and also Subrahmanyam 1969b:92] has given here plural suffixes *-ka*, *-ga* and *-nga* and *-ka* and *-nga* are to be taken as morphologically conditioned allomorphs because they occur in the same phonological environment. Exx. *bo:ga* 'basket' *bo:ganga*; *mi:ḍa* 'child' : *mi:ḍaka*. If *-n* is considered as part of the stem, the plural will have one allomorph and the loss of *-n* in the stem can be taken care of by a sandhi rule. This will be more economical. However there are some irregular stem alternants in both the type of analysis.

2. $\emptyset \rightarrow u \mid - \left\{ \begin{matrix} s \\ p \\ r \\ n \\ v \end{matrix} \right\} - \#$

3. $m \rightarrow \emptyset \mid - \#$

2.15 Kuvi

Nothing is known about mas. sg. and fem. sg. suffixes. The study is based on Burrow and Bhattacharya, 1963.

2.15.1. MASCULINE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-r(i)* and *-ṅa.*

-ri

This occurs with the masculine characterised nouns.

koka-ri 'boys'

-ṅa

This occurs with uncharacterised nouns.

mṛe ha-ṅa 'men'

2.15.2. FEMININE PLURAL

The suffix is *-ska* in the uncharacterised nouns and *-sika* according to Fitzgerald in the characterised nouns.

aya-ska 'women'
hana-sika 'they (fem.) who go'

The last item seems to be a participial noun and if it functions only as a participial noun, it should not be considered here.

2.15.3. NEUTER PLURAL

The suffixes are *-ka*, *-ṅa* and *-ṅga.*

-ṅga

This occurs after monosyllabic nouns.

pu:-ṅga 'flowers'

-ṅa

This occurs mostly after the stems ending in a vowel.

bugga-ṅa 'checks'
bommi-ṅa 'shoulders'
seppu-ṅa 'shoes'
kaṛve-ṅa 'anklets'
moko-ṅa 'saplings'

-ka elsewhere

pal-ka 'teeth'
kaṇ-ka 'eyes'
hi:r-ka 'roots'
gaṭ-ka 'banks'
may-ka 'sesamum seeds'

2.16. Kolami

2.16.1. MASCULINE SINGULAR

The suffixes are *-an, -en, -on* and *-ak.*

-an

ko·lav-an 'Kolam man'
mar-an 'spouse's brother'
mal-an 'man of barber caste'

-en

to·r-en 'younger brother'

-on

okk-on 'one man'

-ak

pa:psi-ak 'fat man'
pauni-ak 'male guest'
buḍḍi-ak 'male of barber's caste'
govar-ak 'man of Gowri caste'

2.16.2. FEMININE SINGULAR

-ral, -dal / tal -i and *-tad* are the feminine singular suffixes.

-ral

popsi-ral 'fat woman'
pauṇd-ral 'female guest'
va:ḍgi-ral 'woman of carpenter caste'
ma·lik-ral 'wife of master of a house'

-al

komm-al 'daughter'
kor-al 'younger brother's wife'
pod-al 'spouse's sister'

-dal/tal

-dal occurs after the stem ending in a nasal and *-tal* elsewhere.

to·rn-dal 'younger sister'
marn-dal 'mother's brother's daughter'
mur-tal 'old woman'

-tad

ko·lav-tad 'Kolam man'
govar-tad 'woman of Gowri caste'
di·var-tad 'woman of fisherman caste'

2.16.3. MASCULINE PLURAL

-ar, -er, -ur, -l, -kul, -ul, -gur, -dar and *-sil* are the mas. pl. suffixes.

-ar

ko·la-var 'kolam men'

-er

ba·sak-er 'sister's sons'
be·rak-er 'deaf men'
veṭṭiak-er 'washermen'
putniak-er 'brother's sons' etc.

-ur

ma·s-ur 'men'

-l

to·ren-l 'younger brothers'
magvanḍ-l 'husbands'
doṅga-l 'thieves'
maranḍ-l 'spouse's brothers'

This is in free variation with *-sil* after the stems *maran* 'spouse's brothers' and *ne·kun* 'headman'.

-kul

bo·aji-kul 'wife's elder brothers'
peḍiari-kul 'men of particular exogamous division'

-gur

This occurs with the numerals, three and four.

mug-gur 'three men'
nal-gur 'four men'

-dar

occurs with the numeral base two

id–dar < **ir–dar* 'two men'

-sil

maran–sil 'spouse' brothers'
ne·kun–sil 'headmen'

2.16.4. NON–MASCULINE PLURAL

The suffixes are *–ev*, *-l*, *–ul*, *-sil* and *-kul*.

–ev

aliak–ev 'male buffaloes'
appa–k–ev 'father's sisters'
sanma–k–ev 'mother's younger sisters'
amma–n–ev 'mothers'
vanna–n–ev 'elder brother's wives'

-l

kaye-l 'fishes'
ma·le–l 'hills'
kala-l 'dreams'
elka–l 'rats'
ki·–l 'hands'
duṭ–l 'hips'
ve·gaḍ-l 'fields'
punḍ-l 'wounds'
bu:d–l 'eye lashes'
bi·am–l > *bi·al* 'rice' (pl.)
mokam–l > *mokal* 'faces'

-ul

kev-ul 'ears'
ma·k-ul 'trees'
daṭam-ul 'doors'

-sil

ga·r-sil 'hailstones'
sa·ṭ-sil 'whips'
zo·ḍ-sil 'joints'
bu·ram-sil 'floods'
divnal-sil 'lamps'
kuḍan-sil 'wattle wall'
vagay-sil 'images'

-kul

muḍi-kul 'knots'
gaḍdi-kul 'monkeys'
da.na-gul 'grains'
ella-gul 'houses'
ca.ku-kul 'small knives'
pal-kul 'teeth'
pe.n-kul 'louses'
si.r-kul 'nits'
buḍḍiral-gul 'women of Burad caste'
telgiral-gul 'Telugu women'
ba.martad-kul > *ba.martasikul* 'brahmin women'
di.vartad-kul > *divartasikul* 'fisher woman'

$$\begin{bmatrix} k \\ n \end{bmatrix} — \emptyset / \text{Nf} -$$

Nf = Feminine nouns

$ḍ \rightarrow \emptyset / n-\#$

$\begin{bmatrix} r \\ m \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow d \,/\, - \,\&\, l$

2.17. Naiki (Chanda)

2.17.1. MASCULINE SINGULAR

The suffixes are *-en*, *-an* and *-ak*.

-en

to:l-en 'brother'
ki:k-en 'son'

-an

kaym-an 'husband's younger brother, wife's younger brother'

-ak

dhivr-ak 'fisherman'
soyr-ak 'male-guest'
mukk-ak 'dumb man'

2.17.2. FEMININE SINGULAR

-ra, *-iya*, *-a*, *-e*, *-n*, *-ni* and *-i* are the feminine singular suffixes.

-ra

te:lik-ra > *teligra* 'oil woman'
vartik-ra > *vartigra* 'fisher woman'

-iya

pa:r-iya 'brahmin woman'
gonḍ-iya 'Gond woman'

-a

ma:s-a 'woman'

-e

divr-e 'fisher woman'
soyr-e 'female guest'

-i

mukk-i 'dumb woman'
bhayr-i 'deaf woman'
navr-i 'bride'

-n

maṛavi-n 'a woman of 7-god Naik clan'

-ni

ṭe:kam-ni 'a man of 5-god Naik clan'
soyam-ni 'a man of 6-god Naik clan'

2.17.3. MASCULINE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-ar*, *-er*, *-ker*, *-kur*, *-lu*, *-l* and *-ul*.

-ar

kaym-ar 'husband's younger brothers'

-er

to:l-er 'brothers'
ki:k-er 'sons'
dhivrak-er 'fishermen'
ra:jak-er 'kings'
iroṭ-er 'two men'

The last item has another alternant *iroṭ-el*.

-ker

maṭṭeya-ker 'men of the 3-god Naik clan'
soyem-ker 'men of the 5-god Naik clan'

-lu

po:rak-lu ~ po:rak-er 'sons'

-l

po:dn-l > po:dl 'fathers-in-law'

-ul

mankyak-ul 'men'

-gur

mug-gur 'three men'

2.17.4. NON-MASCULINE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-ku, -gu / g, -l / -lu* and *-ul.*

-ku

ke:t-ku 'winnowing fans'
kallan-ku 'jackals'
pa:m-ku 'snakes'
tal-ku 'heads'
na:ṅgar-ku 'ploughs'
u:tu-k 'ropes'

-gu

uvvi-gu 'wells'
guḍḍa-gu 'eye-balls'
ghaṅgru-gu 'dancing bells'
ṭiṭṭo-gu 'scorpions'
pal-gu 'teeth'
to:nd-gu 'sisters'

-l

divre-l 'fisherwomen'
kaṭṭe-l 'sticks'
madge-l 'mangoes'
kan-l 'eyes'
guḍ-l 'eggs'
pe:r-l 'names'

-lu

seṭṭ-lu > *seṭlu* 'trees'

The sandhi rules involved here are

1) *k* → *g* /– & *r*
2) *n* → Ø/*d*– & *l*
3) *ṭ* → Ø/*ṭ*– & *l*

2.18. Parji

2.18.1. MASCULINE SINGULAR

The suffix is *-ed* which alternates with *-en* before case suffixes.

tol-ed 'brother' *tolen-*
bert-ed 'big man' *berten-*

2.18.2. FEMININE SINGULAR

The suffixes are *-al* and *-tal*.

-al

ke:t-al 'widow'
koṛ-al 'bride'

-tal

mur-tal 'old woman'

2.18.3. MASCULINE PLURAL

-er, *-kul*, *-l*, *-ul* and *-vir* are the masculine plural suffixes.

-er

ḍongal-er 'thieves'
kummal-er 'potters'
ce:pal-er 'boys'
tol-er 'brothers'

This is in free variation with *-kul* after the stems *toled* 'brother' and *ce:pal* 'boy' which have some stem alternations.

-kul

tulla-kul 'weavers'
o:ḍi-kul 'weavers'
ko:c-kul 'kings'
calñid-kul 'sons-in-law
ce:p-kul 'boys'
tolen-kul 'brothers'

-l

mayid-l > *mayil* 'men, husbands'
gaḍid-l > *gaḍil* 'herdsmen'
boyid-l > *boyil* 'Muria Gonds'

-ul

cind-ul 'sons'
ir-ul 'two men'

-vir

This occurs only after numeral bases, three to five.

mu:-vir 'three men'

nel-vir 'four men'
ce:-vir 'five men'

2.18.4. NON-MASCULINE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-l*, *-il*, *-ul*, *-kul*, *-cil*, *-til* and *-ev/ov*.

-l

go:ṭi-l 'pebbles'
e:nu-l 'elephants'
cukka-l > *cukkel* 'stars'
merva-l > *mervel* 'grand children'
pottid-l > *pottil* 'twigs'
vẽ:did-l > *vẽ:dil* 'gods'

It is free variation with *-cil* after *e:nu*.

-il

nelin̄-il 'moons, months'
puṛut-il 'insects, worms'
garad-il 'donkeys'
kirkoṭ-il 'gnats, mosquitoes'

-ul

kan-ul 'eyes'
key-ul 'hands'
ev-ul 'leaves'
ba:m-ul 'snakes'
ḍu:-v-ul 'tigers'
cep-p-ul 'fleshes'
kor-r-ul 'hens'
amb-ul 'arrows'
kulur-ul 'cranes'

pered-ul 'rivers'
kulung-ul 'stalks'

It is in free variation with *-kul* after *pu:n* and with *-cil* after *kirkoṭ*.

-kul

kel-kul 'stones'
meri-kul > *merkul* 'trees'
muy-kul 'black-faced monkeys'
kar-kul 'young trees'
vat-kul 'finger rings'
va:r-kul 'roots'
pu:n-kul 'corners'
ko:ndi-kul > *ko:ndkul* 'mountains'
pend-kul 'pigs'
ke:ti-kul > *ke:tkul* 'winnowing fans'

This is a free variation with *-til* after *va:r* 'root'.

-cil

gurrol-cil > *gurrocil* 'horses'
u:cal-cil > *u:cacil* 'swings'
veroṭ-cil > *verocil* 'flutes'
kirkoṭ-cil > *kirkocil* ~ *kirkoṭ-il* 'mosquitoes'
karaḍ-cil > *karacil* 'bamboo arrows'
baṛav-cil > *baṛacil* ~ *baṛal* 'bullocks'
e:nu-cil 'elephants'

-til

car-til 'necks'
va:r-til 'roots'

-*ov*

This occurs with a few female nouns of relationship.

iya-ov > *iyov* 'mothers'
tal-l-ov 'mothers'
tandil-ov 'elder brother's wives'
bay-y-ov 'elder sisters'

It occurs as -*ev* in the southern dialect.

bay-ev 'elder sisters'

The sandhi rules are

1. $d \rightarrow \emptyset / - \& \ l$

2. $\left\{\begin{matrix} l \\ ṭ \\ ḍ \\ v \end{matrix}\right\} \rightarrow \emptyset / - \& \ c$

3. $i \rightarrow \emptyset / \left\{\begin{matrix} Vc \\ cc \end{matrix}\right\} - \& \ k$

4. $a \rightarrow e / - \& \ l$

5. $a \rightarrow \emptyset / \& \ o$

2.19. Gadaba (Ollari)

2.19.1. MASCULINE SINGULAR

The suffixes are -*nḍ*, -*on* and -*ak*.

-*nḍ*

maggi-nḍ 'man'
ile-nḍ 'bridegroom'

-on

toṛ-on 'brother'

-ak

mutt-ak 'old man'

2.19.2. FEMININE SINGULAR

The suffixes are *-al* and *-tal*.

-al

koṛ-al 'son's wife'
ke:ṭ-al 'widow'

-tal

mur-tal 'old woman'

2.19.3. MASCULINE PLURAL

-or, *-er*, *-l*, *-til*, *-v* and *-ul* are the masculine plural suffixes.

-or

muttak-or 'old men'

-er

il-er 'bridegrooms'

-l

baya-l 'mad men'

-til

kaṅar-til 'thieves'
pareṅga-til 'men of the parenga tribe'

-v

pune-v 'new ones' (mas.)

2.19.4. NON-MASCULINE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-il, -ul, -l, -til, -sil/sul, -kil/kul, -gil/gul* and *-v*.

-l

ki-l 'hands'
kope-l 'hills'
goḍi-l 'gravels'

-il

pe:n-il 'louses'
keriz-il > kerzi 'mushrooms'
irid-il > irdil 'crabs'

-ul

puṛug-ul > puṛgul 'stomachs'
amb-ul 'arrows'
kuyug-ul 'thighs'

-til

kani:r-til 'tears'
supar-til 'tamarinds'

-sil

gar-sil 'hail-stones'
var-sil 'paddies'
ayal-sil > ayasil 'wives'
koṛal-sil > koṛasil 'son's wives'

-kil

sir-kil 'buffaloes'
vat-kil 'rings'
pal-kil 'teeth'

-kul

kaṇ-kul 'eyes'
pun-kul 'bones'
to:l-kul 'skins'
ule-kul 'houses'

-gil

ka:l-gil 'legs'
vadre-gil 'bamboos'

-gul

sir-gul 'veins'
kopre-gul 'elbows'

-sul

va:ṅgul-sul > *va:ṅgusul* 'knees'

-v

tamaya-v 'their mothers'
ile-v 'brides'

The sandhi rules:

$l \rightarrow \emptyset \, / \, \text{-}\& \, s$

$\begin{Bmatrix} i \\ u \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \, / \, \begin{Bmatrix} r \\ ṛ \end{Bmatrix} \text{-}C \,\&\, i$

2.20. Kurux

2.20.1. MASCULINE

The suffix is *-as*.

a:l-as 'man' (def.)
urb-as 'master'
be:l-as 'king'

2.20.2. FEMININE

–ī: and *–nī:* are the feminine suffixes.

–ī:

a:l–ī: 'woman, wife'

–nī:

urb–nī: 'lady, mistress'

2.20.3. EPICENE PLURAL

The suffix is *-ar*. The post-positions *guṭhiar*, *baggar* and *k͟harra:* can also be used to express epicene plural.

–ar

a:l-ar 'men'
goll–ar 'land lords'
mukk-ar 'women'
be:l-ar 'kings'

–guṭhiar

This occurs mostly with the feminine nouns.

a:li:guṭhiar 'women'
k͟hai guṭhiar 'wives'
kheḍḍo:guṭhiar 'daughters–in-law'

This can also be used with the masculine nouns when the plural stands in a collective sense.

a:d a:lar guṭhiar gusan ra'i: 'she is with the men'

guṭhi alone can be used with the fem. nouns.

mukkar guṭhi 'women'

-baggar

This is derived from *bagge:* 'many' and is used to express the plurality of relatives.

da:da:baggar 'elder brothers'

-kharra:

This is used exclusively in connection with the word, child and *kharra:* means literally 'sprout'.

khadd kharra: 'children'

2.20.4. NEUTER PLURAL

The post position *guṭhi* is added to the indefinite singular and it is optional.

oḍḍo: guṭhi 'oxen'
man guṭhi 'trees'

2.21. Malto

2.21.1. MASCULINE

The suffixes are *-e*, *-te* and *-we*.

-e

maq-e 'son'
qad-e 'son'

-te

or-te 'one man'

-we

qal-we 'thief'

2.21.2. FEMININE

-ti and *-i* are the fem. suffixes.

-ti

or-ti 'one woman'

-i

maq-i 'girl'
qal-i 'mother's sister'

2.21.3. EPICENE PLURAL

The suffixes are *-r* and *-ar*. *bager/bagter* can be added to denote indefinite plural.

-r

male-r 'men'
malni-r 'women'
pele-r 'women, wives'
maqe-r 'girls'

-ar

cha:kri-y-ar 'servants' (L. S. I. P. 455)

-bagter

tangad-bagter 'many sons'

2.21.4. NEUTER PLURAL

The word, *gahṇḍi* 'floak, multitude' can be added to express neuter plural and thls is also optional.

be:ḍi gahṇḍi te 'sheep' (pl.)

2.22. **Brahui**

There is no masculine or feminine suffix in this language.

2.22.1. PLURAL

The suffixes are *-k*, *-(g̱h)a:k* and *-a:sk*.

-k

This occurs after nouns ending in a long vowel, a diphthong, a lingual, a nasal, a sibilant, *lh*, *r* or *ṛ* (Bray, 1903:36f).

ba:-k 'mouths'
de:-k 'days'
du:-k 'tongues'
hulli:-k 'horses'
pa:ṭ-k 'woods'
bha:ḍ-k 'caverns'
pin-k 'names'
ka:ṭum-k 'heads'
ba:mus-k 'noses'
mash-k 'hills'
mazh-k 'grass' (pl.)
te:l̤h-k 'scorpions'
i:ṛ-k 'sisters'
ma:r-k > *ma:k* 'sons'
di:r-k > *di:k* 'waters'

-gha:k

This occurs after the nouns ending in *-a* and it is in free variation with *-a:k*.

lumma-g̱ha-k ~ *lumma'a:k* 'mothers'
ba:va-g̱ha:k ~ *ba:va'a:k* 'fathers'
parra-g̱ha:k ~ *parra'a:k* 'wings'

-a:k

occurs elsewhere.

puṭ-a:k 'hairs'
piḍḍ-a:k 'stomachs'
nut-a:k 'flours'
kuchak-a:k 'dogs'
shara:b-a:k 'wines'
kulav-a:k 'messages'

-(gh)a:sk

This occurs after the proper names and kinship terms and the plural form denotes the family or party of that person including the person himself.

mi:rhamza-gha:sk 'MirHamza and his party'
ba:zkha:n-a:sk 'Bazkhan and his family'
lumma-gha:sk 'the mother and her people'
ba:va-gha:sk 'relations on the father's side'
r → ∅ / – & *k*

III. COMPARATIVE STUDY

Two things should be pointed out at first.

1) The descriptive study of the four literary languages, Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu is based on the earlier stage of those languages and the descriptive study of other languages on a single dialect. But *DED*(*S*) contain more materials from other periods and other dialects and those

words are also used for the comparative study because the words recorded in the later period or in the other dialects are not considered as borrowed items from other related languages.

2) Some of the forms have been reinterpreted to suit the historical purpose. (For more details about the theory, see Shanmugam, 1970a).

2.23. Common Dravidian

2.23.1. MASCULINE

**-an*, **-van*, **-(k)kan*, **-ikan*, **-akan*, **-avan*, **-anṯu*, **-ak* and **-ttan* are the masculine suffixes found in the various Dravidian languages. Of these, **-an*, **-van* and **(k)kan* are reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian (PDr.) and others to the proto-stage of a subgroup.

a) **-an*

Three are three words with this suffix in all the major branches of the family.

Ta.	*makan̠* 'son, husband'
Ma.	*makan* 'id'
To.	*mox* 'child, son, male
Ka.	*magan* 'son, male person'
Koḍ.	*mo·vën* 'son'
Tu.	*mage* 'id'
Te.	*maga/moga* 'male'
	magãḍu 'husband, man, male, hero, king'
Go. (Adil.)	*mari:* 'son'
(Koya)	*marri* 'id'

Konḍa.	*mogo koṛo*	'boy, child'
Kol.	*magvan*	'husband'
Pa.	*mayid*	'id'
Ga. (Oll.)	*maginḍ sinḍ*	'man, husband'
Malt.	*maqe*	'boy'
Br.	*malh*	'son' (3768)
PDr.	**mak-an*	'son'

The other word is **ma:m-an* 'mother's brother, maternal uncle (3945)'. **oru-v-an* 'one man' (834) may also be considered to have this suffix.

The following words are recorded in South Dravidian and Central Dravidian only but they are to be reconstructed to PDr. as there is no intermediate stage as Proto-South-Central Dravidian (PSCDr.) in between PDr. on one hand and Proto-South Dravidian and Proto-Central Dravidian on the other hand. (This is on the basis of existing theory.)

**aṇṇ-an*	'elder brother'	112
**u:ḷik-an*	'servant'	646
**eṭṭ-an*	'fool'	677
**toṅk-an*	'thief'	2417
**tuṇṭ-an*	'murderer, wicked person'	2714
**to:ḻ-an*	'friend'	2939
**maruk-an*	'descendent'	3860
**mall-an*	'wrestler'	3817
**mann-an*	'king'	3907
**mu:ṅk-an*	'dumb man'	4124

In the three items occurring in DED 677, 2714 and 3817, Telugu alone has cognates in CDr. Since Telugu is geogra-

phically contiguous to South Dravidian, these words might not have been inherited from Proto-Dravidian but might have been evolved due to areal development.

The items listed below are found in most of the SDr. languages including Tulu and hence are reconstructed to PSDr.

**kotak-an*	'Coorgman'	1374
**kutt-an*	'short man'	1390
**kunt-an*	'lame man'	1408
**kocav-an*	'potter'	1468
**ku:n-an*	'humback'	1608
**kevit-an*	'deaf man'	1645a
**tuluv-an*	'Tulu man'	2766
**telunk-an*	'Telugu man'	2820
**pott-an*	'deaf and dumb man'	3671
**mu:kk-an*	'man with long nose'	4122

This suffix is found in SDr. languages other than Tulu in the following words and they are reconstructed to Proto Tamil-Malayalam-Kota-Toda-Kodagu-Kannada stage.

**acat-an*	'fool'	40
**acc-an*	'father'	46
**ka:tal-an*	'lover'	1211
**kilav-an*	'old man, owner'	1315
**kemp-an*	'red man'	1607
**pa:rpp-an*	'brahmin'	3366b
**pulay-an*	'low caste man'	3714
**po:l-an*	'man with shaven head'	3761
**ve:t-an*	'hunter'	4547

**irapp-an* 'begger is reconstructed to Proto Ta.– Ma.– Ko.– To.- Koḍ. period. Tamil, Malayalam and Kota share the innovation of adding the masculine suffix *-an* in the following words.

**karupp-an*	'black man'	1175
**kuḷḷ-an*	'short man'	1526
**kuṟaḷ-an*	'dwarf'	1537
**tiruṭ-an*	'thief'	2658
**paṟay-an*	'drummer'	3319
**puḷuk-an*	'liar'	3548
**muṭav-an*	'lame man'	4028

Tamil and Malayalam exclusively have this suffix in many words like

**aḻak-an*	'beautiful man'	233
**aiy-an*	'herdsman'	283
**iṭay-an*	'id'	382
**valay-an*	'fisherman'	4326 etc.

Kannada (*kanda* 'young child') in SDr. and Kuṛux (*khaddas* 'son, boy') and Malto (*qade* 'son') in NDr. have evidence for **kanṭ-an* 'boy, son' (1187) but one is not clear whether the masculine form is a Proto-Dravidian feature or a parallel development in SDr. and NDr.

b) *-*van*

**kaḷ-van* 'thief' (1156) is the only word with this suffix found in SDr. and NDr. and so it can be reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian.

Ta.	*kaḷvaṉ* 'thief'
Ma.	*kaḷavan, kaḷvan* 'id.'
Ko.	*kaḷṇ* 'id.'
To.	*koḷṇ* 'id.'
Ka.	*kaḷḷa* 'id., rogue'
Tu.	*kaḷve* 'id., robber'
Te.	*kallari* 'liar'
Go. (w.) (Adil.)	*kalle/kalle:* 'thief'
(w.)	*kalwal* 'id.'
Kur.	*khalbas* 'id.'
Malt.	*qalwe* 'id.'
PDr.	**kaḷ-van* 'thief'

**cel-van* 'handsome man' (2241) is found in Tamil, Malayalam and Tulu and hence it can be reconstructed to PSDr. In Tamil and Malayalam, the word has the meaning of 'wealthy person, lord'. Since there is a root *calu* 'beauty' in Kannada, the meaning 'handsome man' is probably original.

c) **-(k)kan*

Two words, **kiṯukkan* 'boy' (1326) and *mutukkan* 'old man' (4057) can be reconstructed to PDr. eventhough they are recorded only in SDr. and CDr.

Ta.	*mutiyaṉ* 'aged man'
Ma.	*mutukkan* 'old man'
Ko.	*mudkn* 'id.'
Ka.	*muduku, mudaka* 'id.'
Koḍ.	*mudïkë* 'id.'
Tu.	*mudiye, muduke* 'id.'

Te. *mudukāḍu* 'id'
Pa. *muttak* 'id'
Ga. (Oll.) *muttak* 'id'
Go. (G., Mu., M.) *muytor* 'id'
(Ma.) *muytoṛ* 'id'
(Mu.) *mudiyal* 'id'
(Koya) *mukka:l* 'id' (Subrahmanyam)
PDr. **mutukkan* 'old man'

The other words having this suffix are **i:ḻa-kan* 'man of toddy-drawers caste' (468), **kuṟa-kan* 'man of fowlers caste' (1530) and **mati-kan* 'cobbler'. The first two words, **iḻa-kan* and **kuṟa-kan* are attested in Telugu only in CDr.

d) **-akan*

**-akan* is found in Toda and Pengo, but there is no common word having this suffix. The word for goldsmith is found as **taṭṭa:n* in Tamil, Malayalam and Kodagu and as *toṭxīn* and *toṭkn* in Toda which can be from **taṭṭakan* of pre-Toda period. Since in OTa. *makaṉ* in compound is found as *ma:ṉ* (Exx. *ko:makaṉ* 'king' > *ko:ma:ṉ* Pat. 57.4, Aka. 35.14; *perumakaṉ* 'chief' Naṟ. 150.1 > *peruma ṉ* Pat. 85.3), *a:n* in *taṭṭa:n* can be explained as being developed from **akan* and this is confirmed by the evidence from Toda.

a:n in Ta. and Ma in the words like **kann-a:n* 'brazier' (1183), **ca:nṟa:n* 'male of Shanan caste' (2019), (Ta. *ca.ṉṟu* 'toddy' (3832) and *vaṇṇ-a n* (4285) 'washer man' might have been developed from **akan*.

e) **-ikan*

This suffix is found only in SDr.

Ta. *va:ṇikaṉ* 'caste of oil monger'
Ma. *va:ṇiyan* 'id'
Ka. *ga:ṇiga*
Tu. *ga:ṇige* (DBIA-87)
PSDr. **ka:ṇikan*[9]

The other word is **ca:l-ikan* 'caste of weavers' (2042).

f) **-avan*

**ve:ṭ-avan* 'fowler' (4547) is found in Tamil and Tulu and **mann-avan* 'king' (3907) in Tamil and Malayalam.

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[9] For the correspondence of Ta. Ma. *v-* and other languages *g-* there is another word *vel* / *gel* 'win' (DED 1641 and 452 and Krishnamurti, 1961:125). Even though *keli* 'win' is recorded in Tamil, it is a borrowing from Kannada (Annamalai, 1968:18 fn. 17). Similarly the stem *ka:ṇam* 'oil press' in Tamil is a borrowing from Kannada according to the *Tamil lexicon*. Emeneau and Burrow (1962 : item. 87) consider *ka:ṇam* and **ka:ṇiyan* as loan words from Indo-Aryan. But they have not noted the occurrrence of Ta. *va:ṇikaṉ; va:ṇiyaṉ* 'oil miller' (see chap. 7 for reference) Ma. *va:ṇiyan* 'id in their dictionary. This raises phonological problem also As *g-/v-* contrasts with *k-* / *k-* (DED 1209, 1210 etc.) and *v-/v-* (4377, 4384), the set *g-/v-* cannot be reconstructed either as **k-* or **v-*. So, one has to reconstruct **g*. This has not been done here because the reconstruction of voiced stop to PDr- requires more confirmatory evidences. However, Emeneau (1970a:81) has mentioned that some onomatopoetic formation may have to be reconstructed with initial voiced stops for PDr. (for detail, see Emeneau, 1969)

g) **-anṯu*

This suffix is the combination of **an* and **tu* and it is found in CDr. only

**okk-anṯu*	'one man'	834b
**maṯ-anṯu*	'spouse's yonger sister'	3899
**kukk-anṯu*	'child, boy'	DEDS 302

h) **-ak*

This is found in Kolami, Naiki (Ch.), Parji and Gadaba but there is no common word available to reconstruct the masculine noun with this suffix.

i) **-ttan*

This suffix is found in Kur. (*orot* 'one man') and Malt. (*orte* 'one man') especially in the word **oruttan* 'one man'. This may be due to analogical innovation in PNDr. period as the corresponding feminine is **oru-tti* 'one woman' (see § 2.24) in PDr. The innovation might have taken place on the model of words *maqi* 'daughter': *maqe* 'son' (3768) etc. in Malto.

Tamil and Malayalam have **oruttan* 'one man' in addition to *oruvan* 'id' which is also due to analogical development but the innovation in these two groups, NDr. and SDr. has to be taken as a parallel development.

Distribution and Development

The three suffixes, **-(k)kan*, **-van* and **-an* reconstructed to PDr. are in complementation. **van* occurs after the stem ending in **-l*, **an* after the stems ending in other consonants

and *(k)kan after those ending in vowels. The occurrence of these suffixes in other environments in some languages may be due to later developments.

In Tamil, *van and *an are retained and *kkan is preserved in only one word, *ciṟukkaṉ* 'boy' which is recorded only in Middle Tamil and not in OTa. where it is found *ciṟuvaṉ*. *mutukkan 'old man' is found as *mutiyaṉ* (Puṟ. 81.5, see also *mutiyar* 'old men' Naṟ. 207.7). But the attestation of *mutuvar* 'elder persons' in Tirukkuraḷ 715 suggests the existence of *mutuvaṉ in OTa. The stem is *mutu* 'old' (Naṟ. 58·1, Puṟ. 307.5). So, the form, *mutiyaṉ* may be due to analogy of *periyaṉ* 'great men' from *peru* 'great'. The other possibility is that it is a borrowing from Tulu where the similar form is found. In all the other words -(k)k- has changed into -v- after non-front vowels: *kuṟakan > *kuṟavaṉ* 'mountaineer' *i:ḻakaṉ > *i:ḻavaṉ* 'men of toddy drawers caste' etc.

In Tamil and Malayalam, the word for brahmin is *pa:rppa:n*. In OTa., there is another form, *pa:rppaṉaṉ*. So, *-a:n* in this word should have developed from *aṉaṉ* and not from *akan.

The possible origin of *-naṉ* in Tamil can be as follows: *-n-* is found to occur as a non-past tense suffix in the participial nouns in Old Tamil (for details, see Shanmugam, f.b.). Some of the participial nouns with *-n-* (Exx. *arinar* 'cutters' Patt. 10.471, < *ari* 'cut'; *pakarnar* 'sellers' Patt 6.506 < *pakar* 'sell' etc.) function as appellative nouns in Old Tamil. When the significance of *-n-* was lost because of the function as the appellative nouns it was taken as part of

the gender suffix and so extended to noun bases also (*vilai-nar* 'sellers' from *vilai* 'price'). *-ñaṉ* is the palatalised form of **-naṉ*. For the origin of *-o:ṉ* in Tamil, see § 2.23e.

Kota has preserved only two suffixes, **kan* and **an*. **van* should have changed into **an*. *n* and *ṇ* are the reflexes of **an* and *kn* is the reflex of **kan*. This is due to the loss of non-initial vowel (Emeneau, 1967b:35) and the assimilation of the nasal to the preceding consonant if it is a retroflex. Exx. *mudkn* 'aged person', *kaḷṇ* 'thief', *moṛvn* 'lame person' etc. Except the non-attestation of **kan*, Toda has the same changes as that of Kota.

In Koḍagu, **van* has merged with **an*. *kë* is the reflex of **kan* and *e*, *ë*, *ë̃* are the reflexes of pre-Koḍagu **an*.

1. **a → ë/-n #*
2. **n → ~/vV- #*
3. **n → ∅*/elsewhere

(See Kothandaraman, 1969:240)

**aṇṇ-an > aṇṇë* 'elder brother'

**avan > avë̃* 'that man'

The word *koḍavë* (1374) does not have the nasalisation before *-v* according to 2. One possible explanation for this inconsistency is that it is more frequent word and so it has lost the nasalisation.[10] The word *irappe* 'beggar' (400) from **irappan* has no centralisation of *e*. This may be due to the preceding *-p-* which is not found in other words.

[10] "When the frequency of a unit increases, its form tends to be reduced". — Martinet (1964:178).

The replacement of **van* by *an* in Kannada should have taken place in pre-Kannada period. The final nasal was preserved in OKa. and is lost before pause in Mod.Kannada. DED gives all the forms without nasal.

Tulu has *e, ve, ige* and *ke* as the masculine suffixes. So, it has undergone two changes.

1. *a* → *e*/–*n*#
2. *n* → ∅/–#

Exx. *mage* 'son', *kaḷve* 'thief', *muduke* 'old man'. The last form has another form *mudiye* also.

In Telugu **van* is not found. **an* is found as -*a* in the words like *anna* 'elder brother', *maga* 'male' etc and as -*e* in the words like *manne* 'chief' *eḍḍe* 'fool' etc. PDr. **an* and **kan* are also followed by -*tu* in some words. Exx. *mannēḍu* 'king' < **mannanṯu*; *mallūḍu* 'wrestler' < **mallunṯu* < **mallanṯu* *mutukāḍu* 'old man' < **mutakkanṯu*. There is one suffix -*ari* of obscure origin in the words like *kallari* 'liar', *tunṭari* 'wicked person' etc.

Kuṛux has only -*s* as the masculine suffix in all the words, the history of which is not clear now.[11]

Malto has -*e*, -*we*, -*te* and -*h* as the masculine suffixes.

1. **a* → *e*/–*n*
2. **n* → ∅/–#

The two changes explain the evolution of the -*e*, -*we* and -*te* but the origin of -*h* is not known now.

[11] Prof. Emeneau (in a private communication) is of the opinion that **s* can be taken as another masculine suffix.

2.23.2. FEMININE

The feminine suffix is not widespread as the masculine. For instance, the masculine suffix **-an* after the base **to:ḻ-* (2939) is found in SDr. and CDr. but the feminine is not the same in both the groups: *-i* in Ta. and Ma. **-taḷ* in CDr. In some cases the feminine suffix occurs only in a restricted group as in the case of the form **kiṯukk-i* 'girl' which is found only in Tamil and Malayalam but the corresponding masculine form **kiṯukkan* 'boys' (1326) is found in SDr. and CDr. Moreover, the number of words having feminine suffix is also comparatively less in all the languages.

The suffixes found in various languages are **-tti, -aḷ, *-(k)ki, *-atti, *-akatti* and **-acci* and among these **-tti, *-i* and *-*aḷ* alone can be reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian and all the others to proto-stage of a subgroup.

a) **-tti*

This occurs after the stem *oru* 'one'.

Ta.	*orutti*	'one woman'
Ma.	*orutti, oruvaḷ*	'id'
Ka.	*obbaḷu*	'id'
Koḍ.	*obba*	'id'
Tu.	*orti*	'id'
Kui	*ronḍe*	'one woman, one thing'
Kuwi	*rondi'e*	"
Pe.	*ronjel*	'one woman'
Manḍ.	*runḍel*	'id'
Malt.	*orti*	" (834)
PDr.	**oru-tti*	'one woman'

Some of the languages like Kannada and Koḍagu etc. have evidence for **-aḷ*. Since the corresponding masculine form is **oruvan* 'one man', **oruvaḷ* may be due to analogical innovation on the model of words like **mak-an* 'son' (3768), **mak-aḷ* 'daughter'. Modern Tamil too has the same analogical innovation in some dialects.

The other words with this suffix *-tti* is found in South Dravidian only. Proto Ta.-Ma.-Koḍ.-Ka. has **pulay-tti* 'low caste woman' (3714). The word **kocatti* 'potter woman' (1468) can be reconstructed to Proto Ta.-Ma.-Ko.-To. stage only and **paṟaytti* 'woman of drummer caste' to Proto Ta.-Ma.-Ko. period.

In the following words, this suffix *-tti* is found only in Tamil and Malayalam and they represent common innovation in Tamil and Malayalam.

**a:ytti* 'woman of herdsman caste' (238); **iṭaytti* 'id' (382); **cakkilitti* 'cobbler woman' (1873); **taṭitti* 'fat woman' (2449); **valaytti* 'fisher woman' (4326).

In many items, this suffix is restricted to a single language. For instance, Kannada has *-ti* in the words like *eṟati* 'mistress' (448), *ni:ṭuga:ti* a tidy woman' (3100) etc. and Telugu in the words like *i:ṇḍaradi* 'woman' of toddy drawers caste' (537), *u:ḍigapudi* 'maid servant' (646) etc.

b) **-aḷ*

This suffix is found only in a few words. There is only one word found in SDr. and CDr. (3768).

Ta.	*makaḷ* 'daughter'
Ma.	*mo:ḷ* 'id'
Ko.	*mo:ḷ* 'id'
Koḍ.	*mova* 'id'
Ka.	*magaḷ* 'id'
Tu.	*magaḷu* 'id'
Pa.	*ma:l* 'id'
Ga. (Oll.)	*ma:l* 'id'
Go. (M.)	*miya:r* 'id'
(L.)	*miya:li* 'id'
(Adil.)	*miyya:ṛ* 'id'
	mi:ya:ṛ 'id'
Malt.	*maqi* 'id'
PDr.	**mak-aḷ* 'daugter'

In Malto, this suffix is replaced by the more common suffix *-i* analogically. In PSDr. **aḷ* occurs in the words like *av-aḷ* 'that woman, she' (1) **iv-aḷ* 'this woman, she' (351) also.

CDr. languages have more words with this suffix but in many cases it is preceded by *-t-*.

**koḻ-aḷ* 'daughter-in-law' (1787); **to:ḻan-taḷ* 'sister' (2939); **maṯan-taḷ* 'spouse's younger sister' (3899); **mur-taḷ* 'old woman'.[12]

c) **-i*

This suffix is more common than others. It is to be pointed out that the form used as feminine nouns in some

[12] Subrahmanyam (1969a:110) has reconstructed **a:ḷ* for the items in DED 1787 and 3899 and connected this with the free form *a:ḷ* 'woman'.

languages is found as agentive in some others. For instance *kuṭṭi* (1390) is a feminine noun of *kuṭṭan* 'short man' in Malayalam, Kannada and Tulu and it is agentive noun in Tamil. Similarly, *kuruṭi* (1487) is the feminine of *kuruṭan* 'blind man' in all the SDr. languages and agentive noun in CDr. and NDr. See DED 1211 also.

Ta.	*ma:mi*	'maternal uncle, mother-in-law
To.	*mimiy/mimy/mi:mi*	'id'
Koḍ.	*ma:vin*	'paternal aunt, mother-in-law'
Tu.	*ma:mi*	'id'
Kol. (voc.)	*ma:mi*	'mother-in-law'
Pa.	*ma:mi*	'mother's brother's wife'
Nk. (Ch.)	*ma:mi*	'mother-in-law' (3945)
PDr.	**ma:mi*	'mother-in-law'

pinni 'father's brother's wife' (3452) and *kukkoy* (DEDS 302) can also be reconstructed to PDr.

The suffix *-i* in the words listed below is found in SDr. only and hence reconstructed to PSDr.

**kuṇṭi* 'lame woman' (1408); **kuruṭi* 'blind woman' (1487); **keviṭi* 'deaf man' (1645a); **poṭṭi* 'dumb woman' (3671); **mayttuni* 'sister-in-law' (4189).

The following words are found in all the SDr. languages except Tulu.

**acaṭ-i* 'foolish woman' (40); **aṇṇ-i* 'elder brother's wife' (112); **arac-i* 'queen' (167); **kaḷḷ-i* 'female

thief' (1156); **ku:n-i* 'humpbacked woman' (1605); **po:ḻ-i* 'woman with shaven head' (3761).

Proto Ta.-Ma.-Ko. has the following words.

**kuḷḷ-i* 'short woman' (1526); and **puḷuk-i* 'woman liar' (3548).

There are some forms found in Tamil and Malayalam alone and they are reconstructed to Proto Ta.-Ma. stage.

**aḻak-i* 'beautiful woman' (233); **kiḻav-i* 'old woman' (1315); **pa:ṭṭ-i* 'grand mother' (3349) etc.

**kall-i* father's brother's wife' (1107) is found in PNDr. In CDr also. *-i* is found as feminine suffix in some words.

d) *-kki*

**mutukki* 'old woman' which is recorded in Kota, Kannada and Kodagu can be reconstructed to Proto Ta.-Ma.-Ko.-Koḍ.-Ka. period and **ciṟukki* 'little girl' (1326) found in Ta. and Ma., to Proto Ta.-Ma. period.

e) *-atti*

This suffix is found in all the SDr. languages and also in Telugu. Telugu has this suffix in *mū:gadi* 'dumb woman' < **mu:ngatti* : *mū:ga* 'dumb person (4124) and Tulu in *sa:letti* 'weaver's wife(*sa:le*' weaver'); *posebetti* 'stranger' (fem.)

(*posebe* 'stranger (mas.)' Koḍagu in *gëṭṭigati* 'able woman' (*gëṭṭigë* 'able man') etc. But the common word is found only in Ta. Ma. and Ka.

Ta.	*kuṟatti*	'Kurava woman'
To.	*kuṟbč*	'Kurumba woman'
Ka.	*koṟavati* / *koṟaviti*	'id'
Tu.	*korapaḷu*	'a gipsy'
Te.	*kuṟavata*	'id' (1530)
PSDr.	**kuṟavatti*	

The word **pa:rpp-atti* 'brahmin woman' (3366b) can be reconstructed to Proto Ta.–Ma.–Ko.–To. Koḍ.–Ka. stage only. In these two words, Telugu has *(t)a* and for its origin see below.

f) *-*akatti*

The evidence for this suffix is found only in Toda. Ta. and Ma. have *-a:tti* in that word.

Ta.	*taṭṭa:tti*	'woman of goldsmith caste'
Ma.	*taṭṭa:tti*	'id'
To.	*toṭṭy*/*toṭxïty*	'id' (2466)
Proto Ta. Ma. To.	**taṭṭakatti*	

Tamil and Malayalam have another word with *-a:tti*, i.e. **pa:rppa:tti* (3366b) and for its history see below.

g) *-*acci*

Mod.Tamil, Kota and Koḍagu have *-acci* < **aytti* ? But there is no common word with this suffix.

Ta. *tulakkacci* 'Muslim woman' : *tulakkaṉ* 'Muslim man'

tompacci 'woman of Tompa caste' : *tompan* 'man of Tompa caste'

For the examples from other languages, see under descriptive study.

h) **-mi*

**ciṟu-mi* 'little girl' can be reconstructed to Proto-Ta.-Ma. stage.

Distribution and Development

The three feminine suffixes, **-tti*, **-i* and **-aḷ* reconstructed to PDr. are in complementation: **-aḷ* occurs with the stem ending in *-k*, *-*tti* with the stem ending in *-u* and **-i* with the stem ending in a nasal.

One thing not discussed before is to be pointed out here. Tamil, Kannada, Tulu and Telugu have evidence for **-ay* as the feminine suffix but it is not possible to reconstruct any word with this suffix since there is no common word in all these languages. Tamil has some words like *parattaṉ* 'debauchee' *parattai* 'prostitute'; *attaṉ* 'father', *attai* 'father's sister, mother-in-law' (121) etc. *ni:ra* 'handsome man' *ni:re* 'handsome woman' (2894); *ka:tala* 'male friend', *ka:tale* 'lover' (1211) etc. in Kannada have the feminine suffix *-e* which is developed from **-ay*. Tulu has *-a* developed from **-ay* Exx. *amme* 'father', *amma* 'mother'(154). Telugu has also *-a* < **ay*. Exx. *koṟava* 'tribe of mountaineers', *koravata* 'Kurava woman' (1530), *pa:rūḍu*, *pa:ruvā:ḍu* 'brahmin', *pa:ruta* 'brahmin woman' (3366b) etc. Note the Telugu that *-a* is proceded by *-t* for which no explanation is now at hand.

The possible origin may be as follows: The kinship terms like **akkay* 'elder sister' (24), **attay* 'mother-in-law' **ammay* 'mother (154) etc. which are reconstructable to PDr. end in **-ay*. On the model of forms having the masculine and feminine contrast, the masculine forms for these kinship terms might have been created as in the case of Tamil and Tulu independently and as a result *-ay* had to be recognised as feminine suffix. Later on, this suffix should have extended to other words. However, the origin of this suffix in Kannada and Telugu needs some better explanation.

**kuṟavatti* 'Kurava woman' is found in Ta. *kuṟatti*. **pa:rppatti* is replaced by **pa:rppa:tti* 'Brahmin woman' due to analogy in Ta. and Ma. as the masculine form in these languages is **pa:rppa:n*.

Tamil alone has *-vi* as the feminine suffix corresponding to *-vaṉ*. Since this is not found in other languages, it is an independent analogical innovation.

**cci* the palatalised form of **-tti* is found in **paṟaycci* 'low caste woman' (3319) in Tamil, Malayalam and Kota. In Malayalam, the palatalisation of **-tti* is found in all the stems ending *-i* or *-ay*. But in Tamil, both, *-tti* (*a:ytti* 'herds woman' *pulaytti* 'low caste woman') and *-cci* (*valaycci* 'fisher woman')occur. As already pointed out in § 2.1.2, *a:ycci* herds woman' is found in Late Old Tamil and other words with the palatalised form in the later period (for palatalization in OTa., see Shanmugam 1971a.)

In Koḍagu, the final *-ḷ* is lost before pause. Exx *obba* < **obbaḷ* < **oruvaḷ* 'one woman'; *mova* < **movaḷ* < ** makaḷ*

Addition of feminine suffix after the masculine form is occasionally found. **pa:rpp-an-i* 'brahmin woman' (3366b) in Tamil and Malayalam and **to:ḻ-an-taḷ* 'sister' (2939) etc. in many CDr languages can be cited as examples.

Another peculiarity is the addition of double feminine suffix in the words like **mayttin-i-tti* 'wife's sister' (4189) in Tamil, Malayalam and Koḍagu and *ku:n-i-tti* 'humpbacked woman' (1605) in Malayalam. Te. *gu:nidi* is not to be connected to Malayalam form as *-i-* in Telugu is an agentive suffix which is found also in masculine form *gu:niva:ḍu*.

2.23.3. EPICENE PLURAL

All the Central Dravidian languages except Telugu have only masculine plural while all the other languages saving Toda and Brahui have epicene or human plural. Subrahmanyam (1969b:81 and 94) has already argued that the human plural alone is original and it should be reconstructed to the Proto-Dravidian, because the human plural is found in all the South Dravidian languages, in Telugu among the Central Dravidian languages and Kurux and Malto among North Dravidian languages. The masculine plural found only in the CDr. languages except Telugu is due to common innovation in that group.

Among the various the epicene plural suffixes, *-ar* and **-var* are exclusively used for this and **-kaḷ* and **-ḷ* are employed not only for the epicene plural but also for the neuter plural. These suffixes can be reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian and all the others to the proto stage of a sub-group.

a) *-*ar*

*-*ar* occurs mostly with all the stems except *mak-*, which can take the masculine suffix *-*an*. *-*ar* is found as such in Tamil, Malayalam, Koḍagu, Kannada, Pengo, Kolami, Naiki (Chanda), Kurux and Malto. In some languages like Telugu, Konḍa etc., *-r* alone is considered as the plural suffix but the preceding vowel can also be taken as part of the plural suffix atleast historically. For instance, in Konda, *-r* is alone considered as the plural suffix (Krishnamurti, 1969:229) in the word *ṭonḍar* but at the comparative level, the suffix can be taken as *-ar*. Fortunately, the cognates of this word are found in some other languages also.

Ta.	*to:ḻar*	'friends'
Ma.	*to:ḻar*	id
Konḍa	*ṭonḍar*	'intimate friends, wife's brother'
Pe.	*ṭonḍar*	'brothers'
Nk.(ch)	*to:ler*	id
Pa.	*toler*	id (2939)
PDr	**to:ḻ-ar*	'friends'

There is another suffix *-*ir*, the reflexes of which are *-ir* in Tamil and Kannada, *-i:r* in Gondi and Koya. Since the lengthening of the vowel in the final closed syllable of Gondi is found in other suffixes like **var* > **vir* > *vi:r* (see for detail § 2.23b), this can be taken as special development in Gondi and Koya. *-*ir* in Tamil and Kannada occurs only after the stems ending in a retroflex consonant. Exx. Ta. *makaḷ-ir* 'ladies', *ke:ḷ-ir* 'relatives' etc. Ka. *makkaḷ-ir* 'children'. Gondi too seems to have the same condition. Exx. *kalli:r* < **kaḷḷi:r* 'thieves', *sa:ṛ-i:r* 'sons-in-law' etc.

In Koya, this suffix occurs after the stems ending in *-m*. But the etymology of those words is not known. However, we can surmise that **-ir* was occurring in Proto-Dravidian after the stems ending in a retroflex. If this is true, **ir* can be considered as an alternant **-ar* after the stems ending in a retroflex.

There is one plural form, *peṇṭir* 'ladies' in Tamil and Kannada. In most of the SDr. languages, the singular has two forms, *peṇ* and *peṇṭu* and the corresponding form in CDr. languages is **peṇṭu*. The base form in the singular should be **peṇṭ-* and so *-ir* should have been suffixed to the base. The plural form is interesting in another way also. As noted in § 2.6.3, Kannada alone has *-dir* < **tir* as the epicene plural suffix after some kinship terms. The origin of *-dir* may be sought in this word (*peṇṭir*). Since the form *peṇ* is also found as a singular, the plural form is interpreted as **peṇ-tir* and hence **tir* should have been extended to other forms.

Kolami, Naiki (Chanda), Parji and Gadaba have *-er* as the masculine plural. As these languages constitute one minor subgroup within CDr., PDr. **-ar* might have changed into **-er* in Proto Kol-Pa. stage itself.

b) **-var*

This suffix occurs mostly with the numeral stems. For instance,

Ta.	*iruvar* 'two persons'
Ma.	*iruvar* id

Koḍ.	*ibba*	id	
Ka.	*irvar*	id	
Tu.	*irveru*	id	
Te.	*iruvuru*	id	
Koṇḍa	*ri?er*	'two men'	
Kui	*ri:aru*	id	
(R)	*ri'er*	id	
Kuwi	*ri:ari*	id	
Kur.	*irb*	'two persons' (indefinite)	
	irbar	'two persons' (definite)	
Malt.	*iwr*	id	(401)
PDr.	**iru-var*	'two persons'	

In this word, *-v-* cannot be considered as a glide occurring intervocally after a back vowel because it is also found to occur after the numeral stems ending in a consonant. Ex. **na:l-var* 'four persons' (3024).

The suffix occurs with the numeral stems maximum upto seven in CDr. except Telugu. (See for detail, Chap. 1.). In NDr., Kuṛux uses this suffix upto the numeral stem four and Malto in the numeral stem two only. In the early texts of the four literary languages, *-var* occurs with all the numeral stems.

Ta. *aimpatiṉmar* 'fifty persons' Patt. 4.415.
aiññu:ṟṟuvar 'five hundred persons' Cil. 25.162.

Ma. *panniruvar* 'twelve persons'; *aṟunu:ṟṟuvar* 'six hundred persons' *a:yiravar* 'thousand persons'

Ka. *pannorbbar* 'eleven persons' (Insc.) *eḷpadinvar*

'seventy persons' *ainurbbar* 'five hundred persons' *sa:siruvar* 'thousand persons' etc.

Te. *padunrru* 'ten persons' (Insc.);*ve:vuru* 'thousand persons' etc.

The reflexes of **-var* in Tamil and Mal. are *mar* after the numeral stem ending ending in a nasal and *-var* elsewhere, *patin-mar* 'ten persons' *eṇ-mar* 'eight persons'. **v→m/ N–* in pre Tamil–Malayalam period. The reflex of the vowel is not uniform in many languages For instance, Tulu has *-e-* (*ver*), Koya (Subrahmanyam, 1968a: Dictionary items 46,57, 111 etc.) *-i-* (*vir*), Gondi *-i:-* (*vi:r*) and Telugu, Kui, Kolami and Naiki (Chanda) have *-u-* (*vur*). This is only an independent innovation due to assimilation and other mechanisms.

After the numeral stem two, *-dar* is found in Telugu and Kolami Emeneau (1967b: 146) has already explained that Kolami form should be a borrowing from Telugu. Pengo and Manḍari have *-kar* in the numeral stem two (**rikar* 'two persons'). Since the other higher numerals are not recorded in these two languages, the history of this form is not known now.

The change of *-vuru* into *-guru* after the numeral stem three onwards is attested in Middle Telugu (Mahadeva Sastri, 1969:145). Kolami also has *-guru* and this has also been explained as borrowing from Telugu by Emeneau (1967b:146). But *-guru* is found to occur in Naiki (Chanda) and Gadaba (Salur). It is not clear whether the same explanation can be given for the occurrence of this suffix in these languages also.

There is another word with this suffix in SDr. Malayalam has *anivar* 'so many persons' and Kannada, *anibar* 'so many persons' Ta. *anaivar* 'all persons' which is always followed by the completive clitic *-um* seems to be related to those forms. In that case, **anay-var* 'so many persons' can be reconstructed to Proto Ta.-Ma.-Ko.-To.-Koḍ.-Ka. stage.

In Tamil, *-var* occurs with many other nouns like *kaḷ-var* 'thieves', *pakai-var* 'enemies' etc. This shuld be due to analogical creation on the model of the corresponding masculine forms which have *-van* as the suffix.

c) **-kaḷ/*-ḷ*

The distribution of these two suffixes will be discussed in the next section. In most of the languages, this occurs after inherent human nouns. In the four literary languages this also occurs after the epicene plural suffix.

Subrahmanyam (1969b: 94, 97) seems to suggest that the use of this suffix for the human nouns is only secondary as it is used predominantly with respect to neuter nouns in all the languages. There is a specific statement in Tolka:ppiyam (the earliest extant work in Tamil) that *-kaḷ* is a neuter plural suffix. Its occurrence only in Late Old Tamil confirms the above suggestion. But if the employment of *-kaḷ* is taken as a later innovation, it should be a parallel or convergent development in all the languages. Morever, to say a suffix which is only optional in the neuter nouns (note the very low frequency in Old Tamil) (§ 2.1) is extended to human noun is not fully convincing. As for as the literary

languages are concerned, there is one possibility of having different origin. Since they have employed the epicene plural suffix to denote the honorific singular also (for details, see below), **kaḷ* might have been added to make the distinction between the honorific singular and epicene plural. Note the following examples in these languages. Ta *arac-ar-kaḷ* 'kings' Ma. *uvacca-ar-kaḷ* 'drummers'; Ka. *gorav-ar-kaḷ* 'masters'; Te. *illa:ṇḍ-ru-lu* 'house wives'. Similarly, **kaḷ* might have been added to inherent nouns too. Gondi and Kolami seem to have some evidence for the honorific singular. However it is not clear whether we can assume that such a development had taken place in other languages or **kaḷ* was added to inherent human nouns even in the Proto-Dravidian (more probably at the later stage of PDr.). It is interesting to note that the stem *mak-* 'child' has only *-kaḷ* suffix (**mak-kaḷ* 'children' (3768)) in the Proto South Dravidian as the plural form is recorded in Tamil, Malayalam, Koḍagu, Kannada, and Tulu.

d) **-ma:r*

This can be reconstructed to Proto Tamil-Malayalam stage. It is to be pointed out that the occurrence of this found only Middle Old Tamil. However, *ma:r* occurs 87 times in all the Old Tamil texts including Tolka:ppiyam of which only seven instances are with nouns. In the majority of cases, it is used with the verbs as a infinitive. (Agesthialingom 1968:5). So, it seems to be a case of extension of a suffix from verb to noun. Similarly in the later period, the plural suffix *-kaḷ* used with nouns was added to the verb also. (*kaḷikkiṉṟi:rkaḷ* 'you are spending' Ap. Te. 4-42-9-1).

e) **-avar*/**-o:r*

These two suffixes are found in Tamil and Malayalam only. But the corresponding masculine (*-o:n*) and feminine (*-o:ḷ*) suffixes are recorded only in Tamil. As already noted in § 2.23f the reflex of **-avan* is attested in Tamil, Malayalam and Tulu. Therefore, one can surmise that **-o:n*, **-o:ḷ* and **-o:r* might have developed from **-avan*, **-avaḷ* and **-avar* respectively.

2.23.4. HONORIFIC SINGULAR

The epicene plural forms in SDr. and the masculine plural forms in CDr. are used to refer to a person when one wants to give respect to the person that he is referring to and this is called honorific singular. Syntactically there is one difference between the epicene plural and the honorific singular. While the former can co-occur with the numeral attribute other than one, the latter with the numeral attribute one. For instance in the Tamil expression, *o:r ve:ṭṭuvar* 'one hunter (hon.)' (Puṟ. 152.24) *ve:ṭṭuvar* 'hunter' is a honorific singular and in the expression, *iru ve:ṭṭuvar* 'two hunters' *ve:ṭṭuvar* is an epicene plural.

All the epicene plural suffixes can be used as honorific singular.

-ar

ka:tal-ar 'lover (hon.) Kuṟ. 4.3,60.4
notumal-ar 'new person (hon.) Kuṟ. 294.3
av-ar 'he (hon.) Kuṟ. 11.8. Naṟ. 11.2

-o:r

ka:tal-o:r 'lover' Kuṟ. 18.5

-var

ve:ṭṭu-var 'hunter' Puṟ. 152.24[13] etc.

It is interesting to note that Tolka:ppiyam has specifically mentioned that the usage of honorific singular is not literary but colloquial (Tol. 517). But a later sutra (Ibid. 755) which says that the suffix *-a:r* after the personal nouns governs the epicene plural suffix in the verb (i. e. finite verb) is really interpreted to refer to the honorific singular suffix after the personal names. This kind of usage has not been so far noted in Old Tamil texts. But in *Cilappatika:ram*, a Late Old Tamil text, *-a:r* occurs after human nouns.

makaṉ-a:r 'husband' (hon.) - Cil. 16.17;

makaḷ-a:r 'daughter' (hon.) Cil. 24.16.2.

In this connection, it can be pointed out, *Vi:raco:ḻiyam*, a medieval Tamil grammar has set up mas. hon. sg., fem. hon. sg. etc. as distinct categories (Shanmugam 1969c:74). *avarkaḷ* is used as honorific singular after the personal names from 16th century onwards (Shanmugam 1971b).

In the inscriptional Malayalam *-ar* and *-kaḷ* are used as honorific singular. Exx. *paṭṭa:rakar*.

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[13] Honorific singular is also found to occur in the personal pronouns (*ya:m* 'I (hon.)' -Kuṟ. 209.3), participial nouns (*iṟantavar* 'he (hon.) who crossed' - Kuṟ. 329.4) and in the finite verbs (*ikaḻntaṉar* 'he (hon.) neglected' - Kuṟ. 43.2) (Shanmugam, 1969c:74).

bra:haman-ar 'brahmin (hon.), *cakravartti-kaḷ* 'king (hon.)'. The suffix *-a:r* occurs after the personal names as well as common names.

Exx. *ceṭṭi-y-a:r* 'man of business community', *ta:y-a:r* 'mother' (hon.); *kaṇapati-y-a:r* 'name of a person (id).

In modern Malayalam, *-avarkaḷ* is used after personal names.

Among the plural suffixes, Kannada employs *-ar*, *-vir* *-dir* and *-gaḷu* as the honorific singular in the inscriptional texts.

Exx. *aras-ar* 'king' (hon); *magan-dir* 'son' (hon); *mudta:y-vir* 'old mother' (hon); *arasa-guḷu* 'king' (hon).

-gaḷ is used after personal nouns.

kiviriyayyam-gaḷu 'a male personal name'
ga:muṇḍabbe-gaḷ 'a female personal name'

In Modern Kannada, *-avar* is used as honorific singular after personal nouns.

In Tulu the epicene plural can be used as honorific singular. Exx:- *ajje-ri* 'old man' (hon.).

-ru, *-ṟu*, *-ḷu*, *-a:r* and *-ga:ru* are used as honorific singular in the inscriptional Telugu. Among these, *-ul*, *-uḷ* and *-kaḷ* occur after common nouns and others after the personal nouns (Mahadeva Sastri, 1969:142b).

uttama:ditya sa:mantakamuḷ 'subordinate (hon.)'
konḍu kaḷ 'child (hon.)'
erikal mutura:jul 'the eldest prince (hon.)'
śri ve:luguṇṭha a:ca:ṟlu 'a male personal name'
dhanmjayuṟu " "
pa:laśamma:riki 'a female personal name'
mamkhi poṟṟiya:ru " "
kaḍeyaga:ru 'a male personal name'

-ga:ru is more common in Modern Telugu.

According to Trench (1919:58), *-haṛa:l* after masculine kinship terms and *-haṛi:* after the feminine kinship terms can be used to denote respect. But he gives only one honorific form and that too with the suffix *-a:l*. Exx. *tammur* 'younger brother' : *tammuṛa:l* 'younger brother (hon.)'.

In Kolami, Emeneau has observed the use of *-r(e)* after the personal names and before the words *ban* 'father' and *ay* 'mother'.

ma:de:vr ay 'Mahadev's mother'
ma:de:vre ba:n 'Mahadev's father'

He thinks that *-r(e)* contains the plural suffix *-r* and that the plural reference could only be honorific with regard to the head noun (Emeneau, 1961:33).

The rare use of the honorific singular in the literary records of Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu and its absence in many non-literary languages, seem to suggest that it may be a later development. However, two things should be

noted from the morphological point of view. One is the use of the epicene plural suffix after the numeral stem one.

Ta.	*oruvar*	'one person'	Tol. 517.
Ma.	*oruttar*	„	Inscription
	oruvar	”	KG
Ka.	*obbaru*	”	Inscription
Te.	*okaru*	'some persons'	(834)

**oruvar* 'one person (hon.)' can be reconstructed to PSDr.

The other thing is the use of *-a:r* as honorific singular suffix after personal names. *-a:r* should have been developed from **avar*. *-ga:ru* in Telugu can be explained as being developed from **-va:ru* < **avaru* and **-v* has changed into *-g* sporadically. Note the other example where the similar change has taken place. *nalvuru* 'four persons' (8th cent. inscription) > *nalguru*- 11th cent. inscription; *ve:vuru* 'thousand persons' (7th cent. inscription) *ve:guru* (11th cent. inscription) (Mahadeva Sastri, 1969:190, 200).

2.23.5. FEMININE PLURAL

This is restricted to Gondi, Koya, Konda, Kui, Kuvi and Pengo which constitute a sub group within the Central Dravidian (Subrahmanyam, 1971:531). Even among these, Pengo is the only language which has developed separate feminine plural suffix in the finite verb (*huṛnar* 'they (mas.) will go', *huṛnik* 'they (fem.) will go' and *huṛniṅ* 'they (neut.) will go).

Koya, Konḍa, Kui and Kuwi have *-sk(a)* as the feminine plural suffix. Gondi has *-hk* as the plural suffix in some feminine nouns as well as in some neuter nouns. Eventhough Pengo uses only *-(i)k* as the regular feminine suffix, *-c* can be traced atleast in two words. They are *a:cku* 'women' < *a:ṛ* 'woman' and *gacku* 'daughters' < *ga:ṛ* 'daughter'. There is another word closely related to *ga:ṛ* 'daughter' which has *c* even in the singular, *gaṛce* 'girl'.

As the suffix in the corresponding nouns in Kolami-Parji group is **-cil*, Subrahmanyam (1969b:99) thinks that **-c* might have been a plural suffix in such nouns originally and **-k* and **-ḷ* have been tagged on to them because of the fact that the latter were more predominent in the respective subgroups. Since **-c* is not recorded separately as the plural suffix in any one of the CDr. languages, it might have had different origin.

-si is used in Konḍa as the third person suffix in some kinship terms. For instance,

1st and 2nd person			3rd person	
Sg.		pl.	Sg.	pl.
tamberi	'younger brother'	*temberku*	*tambersi*	*tambersik*
bi:bi	'elder sister'	*bi:bik*	*bi:bsi*	*bi:bsik*
ya:ya	'mother'	*ya:yek*	*aysi*	*aysik*

Pengo has *-hi* in the third person.

	I person	II person	III person
sg	*na:ga:ṛ* 'my daughter'	*ni:ga:ṛ* 'your daughter'	*ta:ga:ṛhi* 'his daughter'
pl.	*ma:gacku*	*ni:gacku*	*ta:ga:ṛhik*
sg.	*ma:ba* 'our father'	*mi:ba* 'your father'	*ta:bahi* 'his father'

It should be noted that even in Konḍa *-sku* is used as a mere plural suffix in one feminine noun, *koṛonal-sku* 'nursing mother, women in birth pollution'. The feminine plural forms in Gondi, Koya, Kui and Kuvi are related to the third person forms in Konḍa and Pengo.

For example :

Go.	*ya:ya:kk*	'mothers–in relation to infants (Trench')
Kui	*ayasaka* ~ *ayask*	'mothers'
Kuvi	*ayaska*	'id'
Konḍa	*ayasik*	'mothers (3rd person)'
Pengo	*ta:yahik*	'his mothers'

Therefore *-s* here is really a third person suffix in origin. That may explain the use of his suffix in the masculine nouns (Koya and Konḍa) and in some feminine nouns (Gondi and Koya). Similarly **-cil* in Kolami-Parji group, can be explained as the third person suffix *-c* plus the plural suffix *-il*.

The loss of the significance of **-c* as the third person suffix can be explained thus : the distinction between the third person form on one hand and the first and second

person on the other is restricted to a limited number of nouns even in Koṇḍa and Pengo. Since this is a unique distinction in kinship terms, the distinction is lost in other languages. However, the third person plural forms are retained in other languages. Since Kui and Kuvi have retained the third person form in the feminine plural, this is considered as a feminine plural suffix at the morphological level.

In the Kol. -Pa. group of languages, $\left\{ \begin{matrix} e \\ o \end{matrix} \right\} v$ occurs after the kinship terms denoting a female. Subrahmanyam (1969b:99) surmises that it is highly probable that it is related to the *-v* of the non-human demonstrative pronouns **av(ay)* etc. It is a common innovation restricted to Kol.-Pa. group.

2.23.6. NEUTER PLURAL

Caldwell (1956:244f), Jules Bloch (1954:10), Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953:12), Krishnamurti (1961:257) and Subrahmanyam (1969b) are the important scholars who have discussed the suffixes for the neuter plural. Among them, Subrahmanyam alone has given clear arguments in favour of reconstructing certain suffixes for the neuter plural and our discussion is mainly on his paper above mentioned.

**-kaḷ* and *-ḷ* are reconstructed to Proto Dravidian because the reflexes of these two suffixes occur in Tulu in South Dravidian and Kolami - Parji group in Central Dravidian. Since both of them belong to two different subgroups not geographically contiguous to each other, they cannot be taken as a parallel development but can only be common inheritance from the Proto-Dravidian.

Telugu seems to have some evidence for these two suffixes eventhough mainly uses the suffix *-lu* < *-*ḷu* only.

	Sg.	Pl.			Pl.
1.	*ciluka* 'parrot'	*cilukalu*	Ta.	*kiḷi*	*kiḷikaḷ*
2.	*eluku* 'rat'	*elukalu*	Ta.	*eli*	*elikaḷ*
3.	*e:nũga* 'elephant'	*e:nũgulu*	Ta.	*ya:ṉai*	*ya:ṉaikaḷ*
4.	*mra:nu* 'tree'	*mrā:kulu*	Ta.	*maram*	*marankaḷ*

Except the last item, the final syllable *ka/ga* in the singular in Te., is due to recutting. So in these words, the original plural suffix was **-kaḷ*.

Subrahmanyam has also attempted to give the condition of the occurrence of **-kaḷ* and **-ḷ* which is as follows: **-kaḷ* occurs after the monosyllabic nouns with a short vowel and after the disyllabic nouns of the type (C) VCV and **-ḷ* elsewhere in the Proto Dravidian stage. The following is a random sampling of the plural forms in Tulu, Kol.-Pa. group and they are to be considered as PDr. forms.

**kiḷi-kaḷ* 'parrots' (1318); **li-kaḷ* 'rats' (710); **maram-kaḷ* 'trees' (3856); **pal-kaḷ* 'teeth' (3288); **kaṇṇu-ḷu* 'eyes' (973a); **pecaru-ḷu* 'names' (3612); **maruntu-ḷu* 'medicines' (3663); **mi:n-uḷ* 'fish' (pl.) (3999); **vetir(u)-ḷu* 'bamboos' (4519).

The reflexes of **-k* are found to occur in Go.-Kui-Kuvi-Koṇḍi in CDr. and Brahui in North Dravidian. Therefore it can be reconstructed to PDr. However, **-k* and **-kaḷ* are in complementation in the matter of geographical distribution.

It is enough if we can reconstruct one of them to PDr. Subrahmanyam decides in favour of *-*kaḷ* because it is attested in Tamil even from the early period.

Many of the Dravidian languages have generalised one of the Proto-Dravidian suffixes at the expense of the other. All the South Dravidian languages except Toda and Tulu retained only the reflexes of *-*kaḷ* at the expense of *-*ḷ*. Similarly in Telugu, the reflex of *-*ḷ* [i.e. *lu*] has extended to all nouns and so *-*kaḷ* was lost. Go.-Kui-Kuvi-Konḍa and Brahui have preserved *-*k* developed from **kaḷ* and extended to all nouns. In Go.-Kui-Kuvi-Konḍa-Pengo group **k* has split into **k* after those ending in a consonant and **ṅk* after those ending in a vowel. In Brahui **k* has split into *k* and *-a:k*.

The reflexes of *-*cil* are found to occur in Kolami, Parji and Gadaba. As already pointed out in § 2.23.5, *-c* was really a third person suffix which became part of the plural suffix. The loss of the significance of the third person (*-c*) and wrong segmentation of the plural are the two innovations common to Proto Kolami-Parji group.

-til occurs in Parji and Gadaba. *-*t*- occurs between **kaṇ* 'eye' and the plural suffix (for details, Chap. 5 Inflectional Increments) in Telugu and Kolami. So, *-t-* in *-til* may something to do with the inflectional increment in origin.

There is one more peculiarity in the use of plural suffix in the Dravidian languages. The plural suffixes are added only to count nouns in SDr languages. But in the most of the CDr. languages and in Brahui, this can be added to some

of the mass nouns also. However, the system is not uniform. As far as the CDr. languages are concerned, it can be explained that the obligatory nature of the suffix in the count nouns has influenced some of the mass nouns to have plural forms. It is not known whether Brahui has plural forms for some of the mass nouns due to the Iranian influence.

The addition of plural suffix to the neuter nouns is optional in most of the SDr. languages, Kui in Central Dravidian and in all the North Dravidian languages. It is obligatory in CDr, except Kui. Therefore we can rightly assume that in the Proto-Dravidian too, the addition was optional. In that case, the situation in CDr. is due to common innovation.

III

NUMERALS

Numerals constitute a separate class of nouns because (1) they have the cardinal (Ta. *o<u>n</u><u>r</u>u* 'one', *iranṭu* 'two' etc.)- ordinal (Ta. *o<u>n</u><u>r</u>a:m* 'first', *iranṭa:m* 'second' etc.) distinction, (2) the phrase, Numeral adjective + Noun (Ta. *oru ka:l* 'one leg') can be replaced by the corresponding cardinal numeral form of the adjective (*o<u>n</u><u>r</u>u* 'one') and (3) the construction, Noun + Numeral appellative noun (Ta. *peṇkaḷ iruvar* 'ladies-two' Cil. 30.50) is possible for the numeral adjective construction (*iru peṇkaḷ* 'two ladies') and not for the other adjectives. Because of the second feature, the numerals are also generally considered as pronouns. The numerals have the inflectional increment **-an*, in the Proto-Dravidian, which is also found to occur with the neuter singular demonstrative pronouns (see for detail, chapter 5.).

3.1. **One** (834d)

Ta.	*o<u>n</u><u>r</u>u*
Ma. (Insc.)	*o<u>n</u><u>r</u>u/onnu*
Ko.	*o<u>d</u>*
To.	*wīd*
Koḍ.	*ondī*
Ka.	*ondu*

Tu.	*oñji*
Te.	*oṇḍu* (neu.)
Go.	*undi:*
(M)	*onḍ*
(L)	*uṇḍi:*
Koṇḍa	*unṟi* (non-mas.)'
Kur.	*o:n, o:nd* 'one whole, one full'
Malt.	*-ond*
PDr.	**onṯu* 'one'
Te.	*okaṭi* 'one thing' (834b)
Go.	*o:ko:/o:ko:re:* 'one each'
Koṇḍa	*uRkuuRku* 'one each'
Kol.	*okkod* 'one (non-mas.)'
Nk. (Ch.)	*okko(d)* 'one'
Pa.	*okut/okti* 'one thing'
Ga.	*okuṭ* 'one (non-mas.)'
PCDr.	**okkanṯu*

Other forms that can be reconstructed with this numeral base **oru* are **oruvan* 'one man' (see for details, § 2.23.1a) **orutti* 'one woman' (§ 2.23.2b) **orumay* 'once, unity' and *oruvar* 'one person (hon.)' (§ 2.23.4). **orumay* is reconstructed to PSDr. only.

The adjective forms **o:r* before vowels, **oru* before consonants can be reconstructed to PDr. (Emeneau, 1967b:141)

Both the human and non-human nouns can be used as head after the numeral adjective one.

Ta.	*o:r eyil*	'a fort' Aka. 373.18
	o:r a·n	'a cow' Naṟ. 37.2

	o:r iḷama:ṉa:kkaṉ 'a young scholar' Kuṟ. 33.1
	oru makaḷ 'one daughter' Maṇ. 6.138
	oru makaṉ 'one son' Cil. 8.52
	oru na:ḷ 'one day' Pat. 81.31
	oru peruve:nte: 'a great king' (voc.) Pat. 34.1
Ma.	*o:r oṭiyir* 'one savant' } Inscriptions
	oru kuṭi 'one tenant' } Inscriptions
Ko.	*o:r a:ṛ* 'one year'
	o:r ak 'one oḷk measure'
	or pa·ṇy 'one pa:ṇy measure'
To.	*wī·r o·ṛ* 'one year'
	o kwa·w 'one kwa·x measure'
Koḍ	*o·r a:ṇḍī* 'one year'
Ka.	*o:r a:ḷke* 'one rule' 8th cent. Insc.
	or siddhiyan 'a perfection' 7th cent. Insc.
Pe.	*ro bopa* 'one lad'
	ro hatan 'one old woman'
	ro key 'one hand'
Kui	*ro mrahnu* 'one tree'
Br.	*asi* 'one' (adj.)

The corresponding adjective in Telugu *oka-* can occur with the human as well as non-human nouns.

The numeral adjective one alone can occur with all the nouns, human and non-human, in PDr. If so, the concord between the head noun and the adjective 'one' in some languages like Kannada, Parji etc. should be considered as a later development.

Even in OTa., the distribution of **o:r* and **oru* is not maintained correctly : *or* occurs before vowel (*ora:ṟu* 'one way' Aka. 257.4) and *o:r* before consonants (*o:r te:r* 'one chariot' Aka. 7.11, *o:r peruṅkaḷiṟu* 'one big elephant' Puṟ. 140.8 etc. (Shanmugam, 1969b:730).

As the cardinal is **oṉṯu*, the adjective form should be **oṉ/oṯ* and not **oru/o:r*. Emeneau (1967b:142) has explained this discrepancy by saying that **oru/*o:r* is the result of the analogical influence of **iru/*i:r* 'two' in Pre-Dravidian. This process is called distant assimilation (Hockett, 1958:391) or paradigmatic assimilation.

3.2. **Two (401)**

	Two	Twenty	Two hundred
Ta.	*iraṇṭu*	*irupatu*	*irunu:ṟu*
Ma.	*iraṇṭu* (Insc.) *raṇṭu*	*irupatu*	*irunu:ṟu*
Ko.	*eyḏ*	*irva·d*	*inu·r*
To.	*e·ḍ*	*īfoθ*	*i·nu·r*
Koḍ.	*daṇḍī*	*iruvadī*	*innu:rī*
Ka.	*eraḍu*	*irpattu/* *ippattu*	*irṇnu:ruvar* 'two hundred persons' *innu:ṟu*
Tu.	*raḍḍu*	*irvo/irva*	*irnu:du*
Te.	*reṇḍu*	*iruvadi/* *iruvay*	*innu:ṟu*
Go.	*raṇḍ*		

	Two	Twenty	Two hundred
Koṇḍa	*ruṇḍi* (non-mas.)		
Pe.	*ri*		
Manḍ.	*ri*		
Kui	*ri:nḍe* (non-mas.)		
Kuwi	*ri:/rindi* (non-mas.)		
Kol.	*indiṅ* (neu.)	*irve*	
Nk(Ch.)	*ernḍi* (neu.)		
Pa.	*irḍu* „		
Ga.(Oll.)	*inḍi* „		
(P.S.)	*iḍḍig* „		
Kur.	*ẽ:ṛ/e:ṇḍ* (neu.)		
Malt.	*iwr* (hum.) *-is*		
Br.	*iraṭ* (entities)		
PDr.	**iraṉṭu*	**irupatu*	**irunu:ṯu*

**iraṉṭu* < **iraṉ-tu* 'two', **iru-patu* 'twenty' and **iru-nu:ṯu* 'two hundred' can be reconstructed to PDr. Note the occurrence of *iraṉ-ai* 'pair' (Naṟ. 123.10) in OTa. Kolami and Gadaba have forms which should be developed from **inṟi* < **ir(a)ṉṭ-*. Emeneau (1967b:142) has already explained this as due to the influence of the next numeral, **mu:nṯi*. The assimilation of *r* into *n* and the loss

of *-r* in the word for two hundred is a later independent innovation in Kota, Toda, Koḍagu, Kannada and Telugu. As for the alternation regarding the numeral ten in the numeral twenty, as well as in others like thirty, forty etc. it will be discussed under § 3.10.

There is another form connected with this numeral is **iraṭṭay* 'double' (noun), and **iraṭṭi* 'double' (verb). The reflexes are found in Tamil, Malayalam Toda and Telugu (and also in Brahui) These forms can be explained as being developed from **iraṇ tt-ay* and **iraṇ-tt-i*. According to Kumaraswami Raja (1969: 16), PDr. *NPP has correspondence *PP in Tamil, Malayalam and Toda and *NP mostly in Telugu. But he himself has observed the existence of *PP correspondence in some Telugu words (Ibid: 19. fn. 12).

The other forms connected with two are **iru-var* 'two persons' (see for detail § 2 23.3b) and **iru-may* 'two times'. The former is reconstructed to the PDr. and the latter to the PSDr.

The reflexes of the adjective forms, **i:r* before vowels and **iru* before consonant with the neuter nouns only are found in most of the languages.

Ta.	*i:r aṟivu*	'two (kinds) of knowledge Pat. 74.18
	iru maruntu	'two medicines' Puṟ. 70.9.
Ma.	*iru na:ḻi*	'two na:ḻi measures' 10th cent. Insc.
Ko.	*ir pa:ṇy*	'two pa:ṇy measures'
	i:r a:ṛ	'two years'
To.	*i:kwa·w*	'two kwa·x measures'
	i:r o·ṛ	'two years'

Koḍ.	*i r a:ṇḍī* 'two years'
Ka	*irkkuḷa* 'two families'
	i:re:ḷu 'two seven (i.e. fourteen)'
Te.	*iru vuṭṭi* 'two puṭṭi measures' 7th cent. insc.
	i:r e:nu 'two fives' (i.e. ten. MTe.)
Kui.	*ri nese* 'two days'
Pe.	*ri kaṇku* 'two eyes'
Kol.	*in nal* 'two days'
Pa.	*ir vo:kal* 'two years'
	ir ne 'two days'

Except in Old Tamil, the use of the adjective form is not productive in all other languages listed above. In the inscriptional Tamil, the cardinal form is found to be used from 13th century [the situation in the earlier period is not known]. Malayalam uses the cardinal number as adjective even from the early period in the inscriptional language [*iraṇṭu viḷakku* 'two lamps' -10th century, Sekhar 1953:101], Kurumba, Irula, Kasaba, and Tulu employ always cardinal number as adjectives. Eventhough Kannada has the numeral adjective in some phrases, it was replaced by the cardinal number even from the early period [Gai, 1946:73].

In Tamil, Pengo and Brahui, the adjective form can also occur with human noun.

Ta.	*iru ve:ntar* 'two kings' Puṛ. 42.24
Pe.	*ri hatarik* 'two old women'
Br.	*ira: ma:r* 'two sons'

This is also the case with other numerals in Tamil. This usage should be original in PDr.

3.3. Three (4147)

	Three	Thirty	Three hundred
Ta.	*mu:ṉṟu*	*muppatu*	*muṉṉu:ṟu*
Ma.	*mu:ṉṟu* Insc. *mu:nnu*	*muppatu*	*munnu:ṟu*
Ko.	*mu:nḏ*	*muat* < **mu·vat*	*mu:nu.r*
To.	*mu:ḏ*	*mupoθ*	*mu:nu:ṟ*
Koḍ.	*mu:ndï*	*nuppadï*	*munnu:rï*
Ka.	*mu:ṟu*	*mu:vattu*	*mu nu:ṟu/* *munnu:ṟu* Insc.
Tu.	*mu:ji*	*muppa*	*munnu:du*
Te.	*mu:nṟu* Insc. *mũ:ḍu*	*muppadi/* *muppai*	*mu:nu:ru* Insc. *munnu:ṟu/*
Go.	*mu:nd*		
Konḍa.	*munḍari* (non-mas.)		
Kui	*mu:nji*		
Kol.	*mundiṅ* (neu.)		
Nk.[Ch.]	*mu:ndi* ,,		
Pa.	*mũ:duk* ,,		
Ga.	*mu:nḍ* ,,		
Kur.	*mu:nd* ,,		
Br.	*musiṭ* (entities)		
PDr.	**mu:nṯu*		**munnu:ṯu*

The cardinal form in PDr. is **mu:nṯu* < *mu:n-tu*.

However, as the reflexes of **mu:nṯi* is found in Tulu Kolami, Naiki (Chanda), Kui and Brahui, Emeneau observes thus: "it is sufficiently good evidence for a reconstruction PDr. **mu:nṟi* and should be so interpreted, unless we wish to find analogy jumping from one to three presumably in several larguages independently – a most implausible assumption" (1967b:143).

**muppatu* 'thirty' can be reconstructed to PDr. As for the word for three hundred, it seems that **mu:nu:ṯu*, the reflexes of which are found in Kota, Toda, Kannada and Telugu (inscription) is older than **munu:ṟu* the reflexes of which is found in Tamil, Malayalam, Koḍagu and Telugu (7th century inscription). This will be discussed below. The other forms with this base is **mu:var* 'three persons' in PDr. There is another form with this base.

Ta.	*mummai*	'three times'
Koḍ.	*mu'ma*	"
Ka.	*mu:rme/mu:me*	"
	**mu:-may*	"

The adjective forms for three are as follows.

Ta.	*mu:-v-eyil*	'three forts' Patt. 1.154
	mu:-vakai[1]	'three varieties' Cil. 13.110
	mu:-ve:ntar	'three kings'
	mukkaṇ	'three eyes' Puṟ. 6.18

1 There are some examples with cardinal number as the adjective base in OTa. *muṉṟu vakai* 'three kinds' Patt. 1.181, *muṉṟu puri* 'three twists' Patt. 1.183.

Ma.	*muppaṟa* 'three paṟa measures' Insc.
Ko.	*mu·na·ḷ* 'three days'
To.	*mu·xwa·w* 'three kwa·x measures'
Koḍ	*mu:ḍa:ṇï* 'three years'
Tu.	*mutta:ra* 'three times'
	mukka:lu 'three fourths'
Te.	*muyye:ḍu* 'three years' M.Te. (Mahadeva Sastri 1969:1931)
	mukka:ru 'three seasons'
	muttumpu 'two tu:mpu measures'
Kui.	*mu: dina* 'three days'
Pa.	*muk po:kal* 'three years'
	mu: cic 'three days'
Br.	*musi-*

One can surmise that **muC-* where *C* is the same as the following consonant before stops and **mu:-* elsewhere are the adjectival forms. The occurrence of *mu:-* before semivowels and vowels are widely prevalent. This should be developed from the base **mu:n* by the loss of the final nasal before the vowel and the semivowel. The same can be said to have happened before **mu:n-may* > **mu:may* for which the reflex is *mu:me* in Kannada and *mu:ma* in Koḍagu. Similarly in **mu:n-nu:ṟu*, the final nasal in the base should have lost and hence the reflexes of **mu:nu ṟu* occur in Kota, Toda and Kannada. The reflexes of **munnu:ṟu* can be either due to the influence of **muC* occurring before stop or due to the pattern of alternation between (C)V̄C and (C)V̆CC (Kamil zvelebil,

1970:185). It is clear that **mu:n-* is the base for this numeral and not *mu:ṟ* as Caldwell thinks (1956:433)

The initial *n-* in Koḍ. *nuppatu* 'thirty' and Kur. *nubb* 'three' is due to the influence of the next numeral which has **n* initially (Emeneau, 1967b:140). Central dialect of Tamil (Tiruchy and Thanjavur districts) has *nuppatu* 'thirty' and this should have undergone the same change independently.

3 4. **Four** (3024)

	Four	Forty	Four hundred
Ta.	*na:lku* † *na:ṉku* ‖ *na:lu* (M.Ta.)	*na:ṟpatu*	*na:ṉu:ṟu*
Ma.	*na:ṅku/* *na:lu*	*na:lpatu/* *na:ṟpatu* (10th cent. insc.)	*na:nu:ṟu*
Ko.	*na·ng*	*na·lvat*	*na·ngnu·r*
To.	*no·ng*	*nal poθ*	*na·nu·ṟ* *no:nu:ṟ*
Koḍ	*na:lï*	*na·padï*	*na:nu:rï*
Ka.	*na:l(u)/* *na:l(u)ku/* *na:ku*	*na:lvattu/* *nalvattu*	*na:nu:ṟu/* *nannu:ṟu* *na:lnu:ṟu*
Tu.	*na:lu*	*na:lpa*	*na:nu:du/* *na:lnu:du* *na:lunu:du*

† Aka. 104.6, Patt. 4.489.

‖ Tol. 442.

	Four	Forty	Four hundred
Te.	*na:lugu/ na:luvu*	*nalubadi/ naluvadi nalubhai/ nalabhai*	*nannu:ru*
Go.	*na:lung*		
Konḍa	*na:lgi* (non-mas.)		
Kui	*na:lgi*		
Kol.	*na:ḷñ* (neu.)		
Nk.(Ch.)	*na:li* (non-mas.)		
Pa.	*na:lu(k)* (neu.)		
Ga(s)	*na:lig* (non-mas.)		
Kur.	*na:kh̲* (neu.)		
PDr.	**na:lku*	**na:lpatu*	**na:nu:ṯu*

The cardinal form for four in PDr. is **na:lku* < **na:l-ku*. There are languages like modern Tamil, Malayalam (dialect as well as early inscriptions), Kodagu, Tulu and Naiki (Ch.) which have **na:l* without the formative suffix. The reflexes of **na:nku* are found to occur in Ta.-Ma.-Ko.-To. subgroup and so this should be a common innovation in Pre Ta.-Ma.-Ko.-To. period (Shanmugam, 1969b:731). This may be due to the influence of the preceding and the following numerals which have -NPu as the formative suffix. The other forms developed from this base are **na:lpatu* 'forty', **na:nu:ṯu* 'four hundred' and **na:lvar* 'four persons'. The history of **na:nu:ṯu* 'four hundred' is discussed along with the adjectival form. The adjectival forms in various Dravidian languages are as follows.

Ta.	*na:l ve:tam*	'four vedas' Pur̲. 15.17
	na:l u:r	'four villages' Kur̲. 15.4
	na:r̲ ka:l	'four legs' Pur̲. 29.19
	na:n mar̲ai	'four ve:das' Pur̲. 93.7
	na:na:ṭu	'four countries' Patt. 2.226
Ma.	*na:na:ḻi*	'four na:li measures' (Insc.)
Ko.	*na:r pa:ṇy*	'four pa:ṇy measures'
	na:n mu:l	'four directions'
	na:na:ḷ	'four days'
To.	*no:kwa:w*	'four kwa·x measures'
Ko.	*na:l viral*	'four fingers' (Vaḍḍ. 155.3)
Tu.	*na:voḷa*	'four seers'
Te.	*nal dikku*	'four directions' M. Te.
Kal.	*na:l udul*	'four days'
Pa.	*nel cic*	'four days'

The adjective is **na:l* in PDr. and it undergoes certain morphophonemic changes. **l→r̲/–P* where P stands for plosive. This is attested in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota and Koḍagu. Koḍ. *na:ppadī* is developed from Pre–Koḍagu **na:r̲patu* only. **l→n/–N* where N stands for nasal. This is found in Ta., Ma., Ko. and Te. **n→∅/–n*. Hence Ta. *na:l-na:ṭu>na:ṉa:ṭu,* Ma. *na:l+na:ḻi>na:na:ḻi,* Ko. *na:l+na:ḷ>na:na:ḷ* etc. Similarly **na:l+*nu:r̲u > na:nu:r̲u* 'four hundred in pre-Dravidian. As already noted, due to the alternation between (C)V̄ C_1 and (C) V̌ C_1C_1, Telugu has *nannu:r̲u* instead of **na:nu:r̲u.* Since the original form of *nannu:ru* in Telugu should be from **na:nu:r̲u,* the last two changes (*l→n/–n* and *n→∅/–n*) can be assumed to have

occurred in Telugu also. Another form connected with these changes are Ta. *nanna:ṉku* four times four' Ko. *na:na:ng* 'id' and Koḍ. *nanna:li* 'id' all of which should have developed from **na:na:nku/*na:na:lu* < **na:l* + **na:nku/na:lu*.

3.5. **Five** (2318)

	Five	Fifty	Five hundred
Ta.	*aintu*	*aimpatu*	*ainuṟu* *aiññu:ṟu* Tol. 1358 *ainu:ṟu* Cil.26.1.33
Ma.	*aintu* (Insc.) *añcu*	*aimpatu*-Insc. *ampatu*	*ainu:ṟu* Insc. *aññu:ṟu*
Ko.	*anj*	*ayvat*	—
To.	*üẓo*	*eboθ*	*oynur*
Kod.	*añji*	*ayvattu*	*aññu:rï*
Ka.	*ay(i)du*	*ayvattu*	*aynu:ṟu*
Tu.	*ainu*	*aiva*	*aynu:du*
Te.	*e:nu* *aidu* (13th cent. Insc.)	*ẽ:badi/ya:bhai*	*e:n:uṟu*
Ko.	*aydu*		
Nk.(Ch.)	*se:ndi*		
Pa.	*cẽ:duk*		
Ga.	*saiyung*		
Kui.	*singi/sing*		
(K)	*se:agi* (non-mas.)		
PDr.	**cayntu*		
PSDr.		**aympatu*	**aynnu:ṯu*

As Caldwell (1956:336) generally believes that the adjectival form is the primitive form, he takes (1956:337) *ei* or *e*: as "the radical form of the Dravidian numeral five". The argument to consider the nasal as the part of the numeral will be made clear in the course of our discussion. Subrahmanyam seems to suggest that in PSDr. **ayn* is the cardinal number. He observes as follows (1968c:56). "Since the Tuḷu forms lacks the derivative suffix that are found in these forms (**aynt-* 'five' and **eṇ-ṭṭ* < **eṇ-tt*), We must conclude that they have been added to roots at the Proto-Ta.-Ma.-Ka. stage and that Tuḷu already separated from those languages at that time". The formative-*tu* found in Telugu from 13th century is explained as borrowing from Kannada (Mahadeva Sastri, 1969:191). Kolami forms with *-d* is undoubtedly influenced by Telugu (Emeneau, 1967b:144). The same reason may be invoked for Koṇḍa *aydu*. However, **-nt* in Parji (*cē:duk* 'five things') and Naiki (Ch.) (*se:nd* 'five') cannot be explained so. Therefore **cayn-tu* can be reconstructed to PDr. The reflexes of the fomative **-ku* are found in Gondi and Kui, and this can be special development because of the influence of **na:lku* 'four'. Note this is extended even to six in these two languages only.

It is now well established that PSDr. and Telugu had a tendency to lose PDr. **c-* (Burrow, 1968:174) and so, the initial *c-* is not found in those languages. As already noted, the loss of the formative suffix in numeral is more predominent in some languages and Tulu is one among them. So, in the numeral five also Tulu should have got rid of the formative in Pre-Tulu period and so also Telugu in pre-Telugu period.

**aympatu* 'fifty', **aynnu:ṯu* 'five hundred' which can be reconstructed to PSDr. (Telugu has to be included here) and **cayvar* 'five persons' to PDr. are the other forms with the numeral base five.

The adjective forms for five are as follows:

Ta.	*aintalai*	'five heads' Puṟ. 37.1
	aive:ṟu uru	'five different shapes' Patt. 1.83
Ma.	*ai-y a:ṇṭu*	'five years'
	aimpaṟa	'five para measures, Insc.
Ko.	*amba:ṇy*	'five pa:ṇy measures'
	ay oḷk	'five oḷk measures'
To.	*ay ok*	'five ačok measures'
Koḍ.	*ayy a ṇḍï*	'five years'
Pa.	*cem bo:kal*	'five years'

As far as the adjectival forms are concerned **cay-* before vowels and semivowels and **caym-* elsewhere can be reconstructed. But **caym* can be taken as the base form in all the base and $m \rightarrow \emptyset / - \left\{ \begin{matrix} V \\ S\ V \end{matrix} \right\}$ where V stands for vowels and S V stands for Semi Vowels. This rule is useful to explain **cayvar* 'five person'. Eventhough Kota, Toda, Koḍagu, Kannada and Tulu lack the evidence for the nasal in the word for fifty, the word can be reconstructed to with the nasal, **aympatu* because the nasal is found in Tamil. Malayalam and Telugu. As for the word for five hundred, the reflexes of **aynnu:ṯu* are found in Tamil, Malayalam and Koḍagu and **aynu:ṯu* in other languages. Since the loss of **n* before *-n* is found in the words like

**mu:nnu:ṯu* 'three hundred (See § 3.3) **patina:nku* 'fourteen' (3.10), here also one assume that **aynnu:ṯu* is original and **n* is lost before *nu: ṯu* 'hundred'. So, it is clear, in all the cases, (*c*) *aym-* is the base and not **ay* as Caldwell suggested.

3.6. **Six** (2051)

	Six	Sixty	Six hundred
Ta.	*a:ṟu*	*aṟupatu*	*aṟunu:ṟu*
Ma.	*a:ṟu*	*aṟupatu*	*aṟunnu:ṟu*
			aṟunu:ṟu Insc.
Ko.	*a:r*	*arvat*	*ar nu:r*
To.	*o:ṟ*	*aṟvo*	*o:ṟ nu:ṟ*
Koḍ.	*a:ṟī*	*aruvadī*	*a:r nu:rī*
Ka.	*a:ṟu*	*aṟuvattu*	*aṟunu:ṟu/*
			a:ṟunu:ṟu
Tu.	*a:ji*	*ajipa/a:jipa*	*a:ji nu:du*
		a:jpa	
Te.	*a:ṟu*	*aṟuvadi/*	*a:ṟu nu:ṟu*
		aruvai	(MTe.)
Go.	*sa:rung*		
Kui	*sa:jgi/saj/kaja*		
Kol.	*a:r*		
Konḍa	*a:r*		
Nk.(Ch.)	*sa:di*		
PDr.	**ca:ṯu*		
PSDr.		**aṯupatu*	**aṟunu:ṯu*

There is no problem in the reconstruction of **ca:ṯu* to PDr. and **aṯupatu* 'sixty' to PSDr. The attestation of long vowel in the initial position of the word, six hundred is also

found in the word for six persons Tamil and Malayalam have **aṟuvar*, Telugu has *a:ruvar* and Kannada, the both *aṟuvar* and *a:ṟuvar*. This seems to represent a tendency. For fuller discussion see § 3.8.

The adjective form is **aṟu* which is recorded in Tamil, Malayalam, Kota, Toda and Kannada.

Ta.	*aṟu ka:l*	'six legs' Puṟ. 70.11
	aṟu ve:ṟu vakai	'six different varieties' Patt. 158
Ma.	*aṟu paṟai*	'six parai measures' Insc.
Ko.	*ar vaṇy*	'six pa:ṇy measures'
To.	*aṟ xwaw*	'six kwak measures'
Ka.	*aṟu diṅgaḷ*	'six months' Vaḍḍ. 134-11.

3.7. Seven (772)

	Seven	Seventy	Seven hundred
Ta.	*e:ḻ* (Tol.) *e:ḻu*	*eḻupatu*	*eḻunu:ṟu*
Ma.	*e:ḻu*	*eḻupa:u*	*eḻunnu:ṟu*
Ko.	*e:y*	*eḻvat*	
To.	*ö:w*	—	
Koḍ.	*ë:ḷï*	*ëḻuvadï*	*ë:ḷnu:rï*
Ka.	*e:ḻu*	*e:ḻpattu* Insc.	*e:ḻnu:ṟu*
Tu.	*e:ḷu*	*eḷpa, e:ḷpa*	*e:ḷnu:du*
Te.	*e:ḻu* (Insc.) *e:ḍu*	*ḍebbadi* *ḍebbhai*	*e:ṇnu:ṟu*
Go.	*e:ṟung*		
Kui	*yeḍung/eru:ng/ oḍ*		
Konḍa	*e:ṟu*		

Kol.	*eḍ/e:ṛ*
PDr.	* *e:ḻ*

The cardinal from is **e:ḻ* in PDr. The form of seventy is **eḻupatu* in PSDr. As in the case of numeral six, the initial vowel is long in some languages and short in some others for the words, seven hundred and seven persons. In the later word, Tamil, Malayalam, Koḍagu and Kolami have short vowel and Kannada, Telugu and Gondi, the long vowel.

The adjective forms for this numeral are as follows :

Ta.	*e:ḻ col*	'seven words' Tol. 764
	e:ḻ tuṟai	seven music types' Puṟ. 152.10
	e:ḻ u:r	'seven villages' Kuṟ. 172 5
	eḻu muṭi	'seven crowns' Pat. 16.17
	(i:r) eḻu ve:ḷir	'fourteen (lit-two-seven) persons belonging to Ve:ḷ clan' Aka. 135.12
Ma.	*eḻu kalam*	'seven kalam measures' Insc.
	eḻu naḻi	'seven na:ḻi measures'
Ko.	*e pa:ṇy*	'seven pa:ny measures'
To.	*ö: kwax*	'seven kwa:x measures'

As already noted under § 3.2, that many languages use the cardinal number as the adjective and even those languages which have separate adjective forms employ them with respect to limited number of nouns and have cardinal forms in the later period (for instance Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu). This tendency in the adjectival forms should have been extended in the case of the numerals, six to nine to the words

of appellative nouns and to words denoting hundreds and hence the long vowel is found in these cases.

3.8. Eight

	Eight	Eighty	Eight hundred
Ta.	*eṭṭu*	*eṇpatu*	*eṇṇu:ṟu*
Ma.	*eṭṭu*	*eṇpatu*	*eṇṇuṟu*
Ko.	*eṭ*	*embat*	
To.	*öṭ*		
Koḍ.	*eṭṭi*	*ëmbadï*	*eṭnu:ṟi*
Ka.	*eṇṭu*	*eṇbhattu*-Insc. *embattu*	*eṇṭunu:ṟu*
Tu.	*eṇma*	*eṇpa*	*eṇmanu:du*
Te.	*enimidi*	*enubadi* *enabhai*	*enama(h)nu:ṟu*
	eṇumbo:di/ 7th cent. *eṇbodi* Insc.		
Go.	*aṟmur/aṟmul* *tenmidi/* *enmidi*		
Kol.	*enumadi/* *enumidi*		
PDr.	**eṇṭṭu* < **eṇ-ttu*	**eṇpatu*	

**eṇ-var* 'eight persons' can be reconstructed to proto Ta.-Ma.-Ko.-To.-Koḍ.-Ka. stage. The stem is **eṇ*. To account the correspondence between *ṇṭ* in Kannada and *ṭṭ* in other languages, Kumaraswami Raja (1969:22) has already reconstructed **eṇ-tt-* > **eṇṭṭ-*. The addition of formative

suffix *ttu is a common innovation in Pre–Ta.-Ma.-Ko.-To.-Koḍ–Ka. period (Subrahmanyam, 1968c:56). The formative *-ma* in Tulu and *-madi/midi* in Telugu are connected to **padi*, the alternant **pattu* 'ten' (Caldwell, 1956:344).

The addition of **padi* should be due to the influence of the next numeral, nine where most of the languages have the reflex of **patu*/**padi*.

Tamil and Malayalam have *eṇṇu:ṟu* < **eṇ–nu:ṟu* 'eight hundred' and other languages, as already mentioned, use the cardinal form of eight here also.

The base **eṇ–* is used as adjective only in Old Tamil Exx. *eṇṇa:ḷ* 'eight days' < *eṇ–na:ḷ* Kuṟ. 129.3; *eṇṭe:r* 'eight chariots' < *eṇ–te:r* Puṟ. 87.3 etc.

3.9. Nine

The etymologies for the numeral nine seem to fall into two phonological groups.

	Nine	Ninety	Nine hundred
Ta.	*on̠patu* *on̠pa:n̠* (Tol. 445, 480 etc.) *on̠pa ∴ ku*		
Ma.	*ompatu* *on̠patu* Insc.		
Ko.	*orbad* (sholur) *onbad*		

	Nine	Ninety	Nine hundred
To.	*wīnboθ*	*e:ṇboθ*	*wīnbo nu:ṟ*
Koḍ	*oym badī*		*ombay nu:ṟī*
Ka.	*ombattu/ ombhattu*		*ombay nu:ṟu*
Tu.	*ormba*		*ormba nu:du*
Go.	*unma:*		
PDr.	**onpatu* (862)		
Ta.	*toṇṭu* (Tol. 358)	*toṇṇu:ṟu*	*toḷḷa:yiram*
Ma.		*toṇṇu:ṟu*	*toḷḷa:yiram*
Koḍ.		*tombadi*	—
Ka.		*tombattu/ tombhattu*	—
Tu.		*soṇpa*	—
Te.	*tommidi*	*tombadi/ tombhai*	*tommanu:ṟu*
Kol.	*tomdi/tomdi:*	—	—
Go.	*tomidi/tumidi*	*tombai*	—
	**toṇ–*	**toṇpatu*	

The cardinal form of nine **onpatu* (DED 862), the reflexes of which are found in all the SDr. languages and Gondi. Caldwell (1956:347) has rightly connected the second element *–patu* and *–midi* with **-pattu* which has not another alternant **patu* in 20, 30 etc. (see § 3.10). The first part of the cardinal number is **on–*. Caldwell has argued against the supposition that *on–* can be connected with the first part of Ta. *onṟu* 'one' (see for detail, *Ibid.* 347). The possible origin of *on-* is discussed below.

The base for the various numeral forms included under DED 2910 is **toṇ-*. Caldwell considers **toḷ-* as the base and he connects it with another base *tol* 'before, old'. On this basis he proceeds to explain the numeral form as follows: "The Telugu *tom* appears to have been derived from *tol* not *toḷ*, though both forms were doubtless identical originally; and in Telugu the meaning, first, before, is more distinctly developed than in Tamil. e.g. *toli-va: ramu*, the first day of the week; *tol-na:ḍu* 'the day before'. This gives us a satisfactory explanation of the prefix by which in Telugu nine, in Tamil and Malayalam ninety and nine hundred in Canarese (=Kannada) ninety are formed. It properly means the number standing next in order *before* the number to which it is prefixed. Thus in Telugu nine means the number before ten; in Malayalam, Tamil and Coorg (=Koḍagu), ninety means the number before a thousand" (p. 348). This kind of argument led him to explain even Ta. *toṇṭu* "as having the meaning 'before' properly but being used to signify nine, the number before ten' as in Telugu". It should be noted that there is no element in Tamil *toṇṭu* to denote ten as in Telugu. Hence it does not seem to be correct. Similarly he explains Te. *tombhai* 'ninety' and Ka. *tombhattu* 'ninety'. We quote him again: "The Telugu *tom-bhai* and the Canarese *tom-bhattu* are meant nine tens; but *tom*, the prefix used to denote nine, does not properly mean nine at all but is only the first part of the numeral nine which is itself a compound". In that case *tom* means before. If so, one cannot arrive at the meaning ninety for Ka. *tom-bhattu* and Te. *tambhai* with the help of the explanation given by Caldwell. He gives the same explanation for the *soṇpa* 'ninety' by assuming *soṇ* to be

equivalent of *tol*, *ton*, *tom* of other dialects. If so, as he himself has pointed out that *soṇ* should have been prefixed to hundred like Tamil-Malayalam and not to *ton*. Since this is not the case, *soṇ*, eventhough it is developed from *ton/tom* (but really from *toṇ), cannot mean, before, as Caldwell suggested but only nine. *toṇṭu* < *toṇ-tu in Tamil and the first part of *tambhattu* < *toṇ-pattu 'ninety' in Kannada, *tombhai* < *toṇ-pai 'id' in Telugu and *soṇpa* < *toṇ-pa < *toṇ-patu 'ninety' should be taken to mean nine. Similarly Te. *tommidi* should be explained from the earlier *toṇ-padi. Eventhough Caldwell has guessed that the first part of *tommidi* has related to *toṇṭu*, *tombhai* etc., he has derived it from the earlier *tonmidi < *tol-midi because he has thought that *tommidi* means literally the numeral before ten. His interpretation does not seem to be correct, because *bodi/midi* or *bodi* which occurs in the numeral eight as *eṇbodi/e:ṇumbodi* in the inscriptions or as *enimidi* in the literary texts, cannot be given any meaning. In the latter *eṇbodi*, the numeral is indicated by the base *eṇ* 'eight' and similarly in *tommidi* < *toṇ-midi, the first part denotes the meaning of the numeral. The second element *midi* < *madi < *padi was added due to the influence of the next numeral which is *padi* 'ten' in Telugu but it has no meaning. In the same way, * padi was added to the numeral eight. The same change in the numeral eight has taken place in Tulu and Telugu. Since there is no other common change found between these two languages and they are not geographically contiguous, the change should have occurred independently in both the languages. As already pointed out in § 2.1 and § 2.2, the numerals are prone to be influenced by the next higher numeral.

The similar explanation can be given to Proto-Ta. Ma. **toṉṉu:ṟu* 'ninety' and **toḷḷa:yiram* 'nine hundred'. The change should have taken place in the counting by tens and hundreds. Instead of **toṉpatu* 'ninety' the second element in that word was made similar to the next ten, i. e. hundred for which the form is **nu:ṟu*. **nu:ṟu* has replaced *patu* and so we have the form **toṉ-nu:ṟu* > *toṉṉu:ṟu* for ninety. Similarly in the word for nine hundred, thousand, the next hundred was added. That is, in *toṉ-nu:ṟu*, **nu:ṟu* was replaced by *a:yiram* 'thousand' so that there will be some kind of similarity between the forms, nine hundred and thousand. In other languages like Toda, Koḍagu and Kannada, the first part of the word nine hundred has undergone some modification. As already noted in § 3.2 the cardinal form of the numeral has replaced the adjective or base form of it even in nine hundred as in the words for six hundred, seven hundred etc.

Now the problem is to explain the reflexes of * *onpatu* found in the SDr. languages and Gondi. First of all, the innovation in Gondi has to be considered as an independent and parallel to the innovation in the SDr. because the reflexes of * *onpatu* 'nine' are found recorded from the earliest records of the literary languages. * *onpatu* is all probability related to * *ton-patu* which, with some minor change

was also the earlier form for Te. *tommidi* > * *ton-padi.* So, the words nine and ninety were more or less similiar. However, the initial * *t-* in the word nine had lost. Note that Caldwell taking the earlier form as * *tonpatu* has said that 'the initial *t-* had softened away' (1956:349) Additionally, * *ṇ* has changed into *n*. Eventhough it is not common in SDr. the reason may be explained as follows. After the loss of *t-*, the etymology was forgotten, the first part was considered to be connected to the numeral one, due to the folk etymology and hence the nasal found in the numeral one, i.e. *n* replaced the original * *ṇ*. In Kota (dialectally), Koḍagu and Tulu, * *ṇ* was replaced by *-r* which is found in the adjective form of the numeral one (Shanmugam, 1969b:732). The former change should have taken place independently in pre Gondi period also.

3.10. **Ten** (3236)

There are a number of allomorphs for the numeral ten and they fall into four groups.

Cardinal

Ta.	*pattu*	*patin* (in 11, 13, 15–18)	*pati* (in 14)	*pan̲n̲* (in 12)	*patu, pa∴tu* (Tol. 437) (in 20, 30 etc.)
Ma.	*pattu*	*patin* (in 11, 13, 15–18)	*pati* (in 14)	*pann/pant* (in 12)	*patu*
Ko.	*pat*	*padn* (in 15–18)	*pad* (in 13, 14)	*pon* (in 11, 12 14–18 dialect)	*vat/bat/at*
To.	*pot*	—	—	*pon* (in 11–13)	*poθ/boθ/oθ*
Koḍ.	*pattī*	*padīn* (in 14 to 18)	*padi* (in 13)	*pann* (in 11, 12)	*padī/badī*
Ka.	*pattu*	*padin* (in 15 to 18)	*padi* (in 13, 14)	*pann* (in 11, 12)	

Tu.	*pattu*	*padun* (in 15–19)	*padu* (in 12–14)	*patt* (in 11)	*va(vatu.* Obl.) *pa*
Te.	*padi*	*padun* (in 11, 15–18)	*padu* (in 13, 14)	*pan* (in 19) *paṇḍ* (in 12)	*vadi/badi*
Go.	*pad/padi*				
Koya.	*padi*	*padak* (in 11)			
(Tyler)		*padih* (in 15, 17) *padah* (in 16) *paden* (in 18)	*padi* (in 13) *pad* (in 14)	*pan* (in 12)	
Kol.	*padi:/padi*				
	**pattu*	**patin*	**pati*	**pann*	**patu*

The cardinal form is **pattu* in PDr. **padi* which is the reflex of **pattu* in 20, 30 etc. also occurs as cardinal form in Te., Go. and Kol. This may be due to the analogy on the model of *nu:ṟu* 'hundred' which occurs as the cardinal as well as in 200, 300 etc.

The reflexes of * *patin* occur in 15 to 18 in all the languages and it can be taken as an allomorph * *pattu* in 15 to 18. In 13, the reflexes of * *pati* are recorded in all the

languages except Old Tamil where *patiṉ* is the form. So **patin* may be considered to have occurred in 13 in PDr. and **n* is lost before another nasal, especially *m* here. It is to be noted thar the same change has taken place in Tamil from 15th century (Shanmugam, 1968 b.) Eventhough the reflex of **patin* occurs only in Koḍagu in 14, *it* can be considered to be original [2]. Here *n* is lost before *m*-. Note that the same change has taken in the numeral four hundred (See 8.3.4) Therefore **patin* occurs in 13 to 18 in PDr. (Shanmugam, 1969b:733)

The refiexes of **padu* are found in all the languages except Kannada and Kota in 20, 30 etc. and so it should be another allomorph of **pattu* in PDr. In 20, 30 etc. Kannada has *pattu/vattu* in that position even from the earliest written records (See Narasimhia, 1941:181 [3]). This may be due to

[2] R. Balakrishnan informs me that the word for 14 in Koḍagu is *padīna:li.* Since *DED* refers to the form *patin* in 14, we have to assume the form *patinna:lī*. Even though our reconstruction **patinna:lku* is based on the evidence provided by Koḍagu as given in DED, it is possibie for us to reconstruct the same form without Koḍagu evidence, because the sandhi rule $n \rightarrow \emptyset$ / &-*n* seems to be operating in Proto-Dravidian.

[3] Narasimhia gives *irppattu* 'twenty', *muvettu* 'thirty' (1941:182). Those forms do not occur in the texts as free forms. But they are always followed by the other numerals, one to nine, such as *irppatondu* 'twenty one', *mu:vettmu:r(a:)* 'thiity three' etc. *pattu* occurring in this type is not peculiar to Kannada as it is common to all other SDr. languages. So, the replacement of **patu* in 20, 30 etc. by *pattu* in Kannada seems to be a historical development. Note *irpattu* occurs as a fiee form in 8th century inscription (Gai, 1946:71).

the influence of *nu:ṟu* 'hundred' which is used as cardinal as well as in the compound. So, on the model *nu:ṟu* 'hundred' *irunu:ṟu* 'two hundred' etc. **patu* in 20, 30 etc. should have been replaced by *pattu* in Pre Kannada period. The same change should have taken place in Kota independently in Pre Kota period. *pattu* has a variant form with ∴, *pa ∴ tu* according to Tolkappiyam 437 (*muppa ∴ tu* 'thirty' Tol. 1). Similarly the neuter singular demonstrative pronouns like *atu* 'that thing *itu* 'this thing' have the forms *a.:tu* (Kuṟ 18.3, Aka. 38.16. etc. and *i.:tu*, (Naṟ. 128 Puṟ. 85.1), respectively. Te. *phai/phadi* and Ta. *pa ∴ tu* Ka. *bhattu* in 20, 30 etc. seem to have some connection. The phonological development of these is not known. (for possible suggestion, see Krishnamurthi 1963:557).

The reflexes of **pann* in 12 occur in all the languages and so it must be reconstructed to PDr. as another allomorph of **pattu* in 12. However, Malayalam and Telugu have **pant* in 12. The history of *-t-* in *pant* is not known now [4]. But it should be a later independent innovation in Malayalam and Telugu. Tulu has lost this allomorph and it uses *padu* which is the reflex of **patin.*

In 11, the reflexes of **patin* occur in Ta., Ma. and Te. and the reflexes of **pann* in Ko., To., Koḍ. and Ka. Here **patin*

[4] One possible explanation for the origin of *-t-* may be as follows: **panniraṇṭu* > **pannraṇṭu* > *pantraṇṭu* due to dissimilation. I am thankful to Dr. K. Kushalappa Gowda for this suggestion. The other possibility is that *-t-* is introduced as an intrusive consonant because Malayalam and Telugu have *raṇḍu* / *reṇḍu* as the cardinal. In that case, *pan-raṇḍu* > *pantraṇḍu* in Ma., *pan+reṇḍu* > *pandreṇḍu* in Telugu.

seems to be original in PSDr. because the allomorphic change of **patin* into **pann* can be easily explained as due to the following numeral, 12 which has got the allomorph **pann*. If **pann* is reconstructed the change of *pann* into *patin* cannot be explained. That is **pann* will occur in 11, 12 and **patin* in 13 to 18. In that case, one cannot answer why the form occurring in 13 has not influenced the numeral 12 but only 11. Therefore **patin* has to be reconstructed in 11 and 13 to 18. Even in Old Tamil, there is an instance where *pann* is used before *oru. pannoruvar* 'eleven persons' Par. 18-7.

In Tulu **patin* is replaced by *pattu* in 11. Here the preceding form (lower numeral) has influenced the following one (higher numeral). This tendency is also found in the numeral nineteen.

The reflexes of **patt-* occur in 19 in all the SDr. languages except Tulu which has *padun*, the reflex of **patin*. Koya uses *padin* 'nineteen' Telugu uses *panu*< **pann*. As already noted, Tulu form for nineteen is influenced by eighteen. That is, the allomorph of ten, **patin* occurring in 18 is used also in 19. The reason for the extension of the allomorph in 12 to the numeral nineteen in Telugu is not clear.

Toda has undergone many changes in the numerals especially in fourteen to eighteen. It is interesting to note that in many dialects of Modern Tamil, similar changes are found only in 11, 15 and 18.

Std. Tamil	Colloquial Ta. Std.	Sub-Std.	Toda	Meaning
patinonṟu	*padinoṇṇu*	*pa:ṇṇu*	—	'eleven'

Std. Tamil	Colloquial Ta. Std.	Sub-Std.	Toda	Meaning
patina:nku			*pa:ng*	'fourteen'
patinaintu	*padinanji*	*pa:nji*	*pu·j*	'fifteen'
patina:ṟu	—	—	*pa.ṟ*	'sixteen'
patine:ḷ	—	—	*pa.w*	'seventeen'
patineṭṭu	*padineṭṭu* > **padinṭṭu*	*pa:ṇṭu*	*pu.ṭ*	'eighteen'

The process of change is not attempted here. **patin* also occurs as the adjectival form in many languages.

Ta. *patiṉ eṇkaṇam* 'Ten-eight(eighteen)groups' Puṟ. 1.10

patiṉ oru mu:var 'Ten-one-three' (i.e. thirty persons) Patt. 1.167

patiṉ kalam 'Ten Kalam measures'

Ma. *patin kalam* ,, (Insc.)

Ko. *pa calg* 'ten calg measures'

Ka. *padir maḍi* 'ten times' Vaḍḍ. 187.3

Te. *pan dumbu* 'Ten tu:mpu measures' Insc.

The reflexes of **patinvar* occur in Ta. Ma. and Ka. In Tamil and Malayalam, **v* has changed into *m* and in Kannada **v to b*. Telugu has the form *paduṇṟu* 'ten persons' and it should be an independent innovation in that language.

3.11. Hundred (3090)

	Cardinal	Obl.	Appellative noun
Ta	*nu:ṟu*	*nu:ṟṟu-*	*nu:ṟṟuvar*
Ma	*nu:ṟu*	*nu:ṟṟu-*	*nu:ṟṟuvar*

	Cardinal	Obl.	Appellative Noun
Ko.	*nu·r*		
To.	*nu·ṟ*		
Koḍ.	*nu:rï*	*nu'it-*	
Ka.	*nu:ṟu*	*nu:ṟ-*	*nu:ṟvar*(Vaḍḍ. 49.91)
Tu.	*nu:du*	*nu:ta-*	
Te.	*nu:ṟu*(Insc.)	*nu:ṭa-*	
Go.	*nu:r*		
PDr.	**nu:ṯu*	**nu:ṯṯ-*	**nu:ṯṯuvar*

The cardinal form **nu:ṯu* and the oblique form **nu:ṯṯ-* can be reconstructed to PDr. Kannada has single consonant like other languages and the same situation is found also after CV̄ṭ/ṟu type of nouns when they take case suffixes (see Chap. 5. section on **tt*) and this should be considered as an innovation in Kannada. Similarly the appelative form in Kannada has single consonant.

The oblique form in Tulu and Telugu has *-a* and this is the same as the inflectional increment *-a* occurring after plural noun in those languages (for detail, Chap. 5)

3.12. Thousand

All the SDr. languages have the reflexes of **ca:yiram* 'thousand' which is a borrowing from Sanskrit *sahasra* in PSDr. (Caldwell, 1956:356; Emeneau and Burrow, 1962:4) *ve:yi* 'thousand' sg. and *ve:lu* 'id' pl. seem to be a native word but they cannot be reconstructed as they are not found in no other language.

3.13. Ordinal

Ta.	*a:m/a:vatu*
Ma.	*a:m*
To.	*a:fiθ-*
Koḍ.	*ane*
Ka.	*aneya* (Insc.)
	ane: (Caldwell)
Tu.	*ane*
Te.	*agun/ave* (Insc.)
	o: Mod. Te.
Kui	*tari*
Koya	*o:* (Tyler)
Kur.	*ta:*
Br.	*īmiko:*

a:kum* may be reconstructed to explain Ta. *a:m*, Ma. *a:m* and Te. *agun*. *a:kum* is the non-past relative participle of the verb **a:ku*/a:* 'come into existence; happen, be fit' (282) (Caldwell, 1956:355). Koḍ., Ka. and Tu. *ane* seems to be related to -*a:m* because the non past tense base of this verb is *a:n* in Koḍagu and Kannada.

Ta. *a:vatu*, To. *a:fiθ-* and Te. *ava* may ultimately be related to **a:vatu*, the verbal noun of the same verb base. -*o:* in Koḍ. Te. and Koya can be connected to Te. -*ava*. Therefore the ordinal suffix seems to have developed from the verbal base **a:k*/**a:*- However, the history of the forms in other languages is not clear now.

IV

PRONOUNS

Pronouns form a separate class in the nouns because they cannot be preceded by the genitive case phrase or adjectives like other nouns. For instance, in Ta. *makanuṭaiya vi:ṭu* 'son's house' and *eṉṉuṭaiya makaṉ* 'my son' are possible and not **makaṉuṭaiya na:ṉ* 'son's I' (Agesthialingom, 1967:23). This seems to be true for all languages.

There are two kinds of pronouns, viz., (1) personal pronouns and (2) demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. In the Dravidian languages, personal pronouns do have the number distinction, singular and plural, and they are common to masculine and feminine. The oblique forms of the personal pronouns are formed by shortening the long vowel in the nominative. Exx. Ta. *na:m* 'we' *nam-*; Te. *e:nu* 'I' *en-*; Pa. *i:n* 'you' (sg.): *in-* etc. The demonstrative and the interrogative pronouns have gender-number distinctions (see for detail, chap. I).

The demonstrative and the interrogative bases take not only the gender-number suffixes but also adjectival (Ta. *anta* 'that', *inta* 'this' etc.) and adverbial suffixes (Ta. *aṅku* 'there' Koṇḍa *abe* 'there' Pa. *ingoṭ* 'this much' etc.). To decide the demonstrative and interrogative bases, it is necessary to

reconstruct the suffixes occurring with them (note the gender-number suffixes occuring after these bases have been reconstructed in the second chapter). Since this is not undertaken because it does not come under the perview of this work, the reconstruction of the demonstrative and interrogative bases is not attempted here.

The study of personal pronouns has been undertaken by many scholars like Subbaiya (1923) Zvelebil (1962) Krishnamurti (1968b), Kandappachetty (1969) and Subrahmanyam (1968b) etc. This study is mostly based on the arguments given by the last three scholars.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

4.1 First Person Singular (4234)

	Nominative		Oblique
Ta.	*ya:n̲*	*na:n̲*[1]	*en̲-* (–Gen.)
			en̲a- (–Dat.)
			en̲n̲-
			er̲ku[2] (Dat.)
Ma.		*na:n* (Insc.)	*enn-* (-Acc.)
		ña:n (RC.)	*ena-* (-Dat.)
			en-
Ko.	*a:n*		*en-*
To.	*o:n*		*en-*

[1] *na:n̲* - Par. 6.87, Cil. 29.24, Man̲. 17.45

[2] *er̲ku-* Kal. 86.29, Par. 20.81

Kod.		*na:(nī)*	*en-*
			na:- (-Dat.)
			nan- (-Acc.)
Ka.	*a:n* (Insc. 7th cent.)	*na:n* (10th cent. Insc.)	*ena-* (-Dat.)
			enn-
			nan-
Tu.	*e:ni*	*ya:nī*	*en-*
Te.	*e:nu*	*ne:nu*	*nan-* (-Acc.)
			na:-
Go.	*ana:*	*nan(n)a:*	*na:k-* (-Acc. -Dat.)
			nah- (-Loc. -Abl.)
			na:-
Koṇḍa		*na:n*	*na-* (-Acc.)
			na:-
Pe.	*a:n(en)*		*naṅg-* (-Acc.)
			na:-
Manḍa	*a:n*		
Kui	*a:na*	*na:nu*	*na:ṅg-* (-Acc.)
			na:n (-Dat.)
			na:-
Kuvi		*na:nu*	*na:-*
Kol.	*a:n*		*an-*
Nk.(Ch.)	*a:n*		*an-*
Pa.	*a:n*		*an-*
Ga.	*a:n*		*an-*
Kur.	*e:n*		*enga:-* (-Dat.)
			eng-

Malt.	*e:n*	*enga·–*	(-Dat.)
		eng–	
Br.	*i:*	*kan–*	

For the first set of nominative, **ya:n* may be reconstructed (For the problems of the different reflexes in various Dravidian languages, see Emeneau 1970a;87, 29 and Subrahmanyam 1968b:2). Only Brahui has some special development. Emeneau things that *i:* is due to the analogy with the second person pronoun *ni:* (3051) which is phonologically regular in all details (1962:15). The problem regarding the reconstruction for the second set, see § 4.3.

The oblique base can be assumed to have developed from **yan–* (Burrow, 1968:123) because all other personal pronouns are formed by shortening the long vowel of the nominative.

**yan–* is not attested as such because it was against the phonological pattern. Because *y–* can occur initially only when it is not followed by *-a:*. Therefore **yan* has changed into *en–* in the South and the North Dravidian and into *an* in the Central Dravidian.

The dative case in most of the languages (Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu-Kui group languages, Kuṛux and Malto) occurs with the base **yana* > *ena* SDr. and NDr. and **ana* in CDr. This *–a* has been considered as one of the inflexional increments (see the next chapter) and it is found to occur with all other personal pronouns singular as well as plural. But it is not found in Kota, Toda, Koḍagu and Tulu in SDr. The loss of *-a* in Kota and Toda can be

explained as due to the loss of vowel in the syllable which is some what common in these languages. (Emeneau, 1967b:35)

After the change of PDr. **yan* into *an* in PCDr, there was another change, i.e. metathesis in Telugu, Gondi, Konḍa Pengo, Manḍa, Kui and Kuvi (i. e.., Telugu-Kui group). The metathesis is very clear in dative and the genitive form. PCDr. **anakku* became *na:kku* in Telugu, *na:k (u:n)* in Gondi, *na:ṅgi* in Kui etc. Similarly the genitive form can be explained. Because the dative and the genitive case forms are the oldest and common, the metathesised form, *na:-* became generalised as the oblique base for the addition of all other cases also. The same development is also found in all other pronouns.

Kui and Pengo show some similarity both in this pronoun and other personal pronouns. Pengo which used the same form for accusative and dative has *naṅgen* in the first person singular, *maṅgen* in the first person plural, *niṅgen* in the 2nd person sg. and *miṅgen* 2nd person plural. Kui which employs different suffixes for the accusative and dative in the other nouns has the same forms for these two cases in all the personal pronouns: *na:ṅgi-* 1st person sg. (Acc.-Dat.) *ma:ṅgi-* 1st person plural, **ni:ṅgi-* 2nd person sg. *mi:ṅgi-*2nd person pl. The dative case form (for instance, 1st person sg. *naṅg* < **nan-k* < **anak* < **nanak)* has become the oblique form before accusative and this should be a common innovation in Pengo and Kui.

The *g* in the oblique bases of Kuṛux and Malto in this pronoun is also found in other singular personal pronouns in those languages. Krishnamurthi explains Kur. Malt. *ning*

'you (sg) < **nin-g* was originally a dative stem normalised as the oblique (1968b:203). Subrahmanyam has clearly argued that the original dative case form of the first person pronoun started to be used as the oblique base at Proto-North Dravidian stage itself bacause Brahui *kan-* as the oblique in this pronoun (1968b:2).

The oblique forms in other persons are not given in details because they behave in the same way as in the first person singular.

4.2. First Person Exclusive Plural (4231)

	Nominative		Oblique
Ta.	*ya:m*		*em-*
	ya:ṅkaḷ[3]	*na:ṅkaḷ*[4]	*eṅkaḷ*[5]*-*
Ma.		*ña:ññaḷ*	*eññaḷ-* OMa.
			ñaññaḷ- Later
Ko.	*a:m*		
To.	*em*		
Koḍ.	*eṅga*	*naṅga*	*eṅga-*
			naṅga-
Ka.	*a:m-*(Insc.)		*em-*
Tu.	*yaṅkuḷu*		*yaṅkuḷe-*
	eṅkuḷi		*eṅkuḷe-*
Te.	*e:mu*	*ne:mu*	*ma:-*
		me:mu	*mamm-*

[3] *ya:ṅkaḷ* - Cil. 16.161

[4] *na:ṅkaḷ* - Peri. TP 3.2 and also in NTa.

[5] *eṅkaḷ* - Peri. TP 3.2 and also in NTa.

Go.	*ammă:ṭ* *ammoṭ,* *ammok*	*nammă:ṭ* *namoṭ*	*ma:-*
Koṇḍa		*ma:p*	*ma:-* (Gen.) *ma-* (Acc.)
Kui	*a:mu,* *a:ju*		*ma:-*
Kuwi		*ma:mbu* *ma:rro:,* *ma:ro*	*ma:-*
Pe.	*a:p(eṅ)*		*ma:-*
Kol.	*a:m*		*am-*
Nk.(Ch.)	*a:m*		*am-*
Pa.	*a:m*		*am-*
Ga.	*a:m*		*am-*
Kur.	*e:m*		*em-*
Malt.	*e:m*		*em-*

**ya:m* as the first person inclusive pronoun has been reconstructed uniformlv by all the scholars. The phonological correspondence, **ya:/e* in Telugu, Kuṛux and Malto and **ya:/a:* in other languages (with the exception of Toda, for which see the explanation below) are the same as the correspondence as in the first person singular.

In Gondi, there is a special development and this is found in all other plural personal pronouns. *-aṭ/-a:ṭ*, a new plural suffix was added to the plural stem. Similarly **kaḷ* was added in the SDr. languages. In Tamil, it is recorded for all the pronouns, but in Koḍagu and Tulu for 1st and 2nd persons only. Its absence in Kota, Toda and Kannada gives rise to

suspicion that the addition may be borrowing or independent innovation in Koḍagu and Tulu.

The oblique base is **yam-* in PDr. and it became *em-* in SDr. and NDr. languages and *am-* in CDr. languages, as in the case of singular **yan-*.

As pointed out in the previous para, *-kaḷ* was added to the oblique forms in Ta., Ma., Koḍ. and Tu. Moreover in Koḍagu, the nominative contains the short vowel in all the plural personal pronouns. They must originally be the oblique bases which replaced the nominative form in all the plural forms. Similar change is found in Tulu in the first person as well as in the second person plural. The replacement of the nominative by the oblique is found in the inclusive plural, exclusive plural, second person plural as well as in the reflexive plural in Toda.

As already pointed out under first person singular, the oblique base *ma:-* is due to the metathesis especially in the dative and the genitive form. Te. *m-* in the accusative form may be due to the influence of the metathesised form *ma:-*. Telugu, Konḍa, Kuvi and dialects of Gondi have *m-* initially in the nominative. Subrahmanyam suggests that it may also be due to the metathesised oblique base *ma:-*.

Konḍa *ma:p* and Kuvi *ma:mpu* should have developed form earlier **ma:mp* which must be from still earlier **a:m* (Subrahmanyam).

4.3. First Person Inclusive Plural (3019)

Ta.	*na:m*	*nam–*
		nañkaḷ[6]*–*
Ma.	*na:m, no:m*	*nam–*
Ko.	*a:m*	*am–*
To.	*o:m*	*om–*
Ka.	*na:m* (OKa.)	*nam–*
Tu.	*nama, na:vu*	*nam–*
Te.	*manamu*	*mana–*
Kol.	*ne:nḍ, ne:m*	*ne:nḍ–*
		ne:m–
Kur.	*na:m*	*nam–*
Malt.	*na:m*	*nam–*
Br.	*nan* 'we'	*nam–*

Krishnamurti has reconstructed **ña:m* for the inclusive plural because he feels that a reconstruction of **na:m* will cause difficulties to explain OTe. *ne:mu* and Kol. *ne:m* and *ne:nḍ* which have *e:* in the medial syllable. For the same reason **ña:n* has been reconstructed by him as the first person singular. Kandappa Chetty and Subrahmanyam have reconstructed **na:m* and explained the irregular forms in the plural as well as in the singular as later developments.

Kandappa Chetty has pointed out that there is no *a:/e* alternation in the nominative and the oblique forms atleast in some of the SDr. languages and the forms in Kolami do not appear to have directly derived from the PDr. His explanation for the development of forms with initial *n–* is as follows:

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[6] *nañkaḷ* - TV 7.64

"The loss of *y-* in the first person **ya:n* and **ya:m* must have taken place in the Dravidian before a complete separation of SDr., CDr. and NDr. and so the loss is complete in all the languages except in a few SDr. languages (Tamil, Tulu). At the same time, the change *ñ-* > *n* also was taking place in the Dravidian excepting certain SDr. languages (Tamil, Malayalam, Koḍagu and Tulu). That is, while *ñ-*>*n* was progressively taking place in the Dravidian, a resistence for such a change must have shown in the SDr. that led to the retention of some *ñ-* form in Malayalam, Old Tamil etc. There must be some *ñ-* in the substandard dialect of SDr. area. DED 2364. Ta. *narampu*' nerve' Ma. *ñarampu, narampu,* Ko. *narb,* To. *narb,* Ka. *nara, naravu,* Tu. *nara, narampu,* Te. *naramu,* Kol. *naram,* Pa. *nerb*< **narb,* Kui *dra:mwbu,* Kuvi *norom,* Kur. *na:ri:,* Malt. *na:ru.* The complete absence of *a/e* alternation and *ñ* form only in Malayalam indicate that *ñ* in that language may be inverse spelling (The better term will hyperurbanisation or hypercorrection). The inverse spelling is reflected not only *ñ* but also on **y-* which was being lost while **ñ* was changing into *n.* Exx. Ta. *ñamaṉ* 'lord of death' Ma. *ñeman* < Skt. *yama.* Ta. *ña:ḻ* < **ya:ḻ* 'lute'. Ta. *ña:ṅkar, a:ṅku* < **ya:ṅku* 'there'. So, in the substandard dialects of SDr. where a resistance was given for **ñ* > *n,* a change of **y-* > *ñ* must have taken place in the first person singular and plural pronouns, **ya:n* > *ña:n* and **ya:m* > *ña:m.* The isogloss of the innovation of **y-* > *ñ* of the SDr, must have included also the portion of the CDr. and hence we have in Telugu *ne:mu* 'we (excl.)' < **ña:m.* This OTe. form must have been borrowed into Kolami and undergone some independent changes.

Subrahmanyam's arguments to consider Ma. *ña:n* and *ña:ññaḷ* are as follows: "Ta. *ya:ṅkaḷ* and *na:ṅkaḷ* are formed by adding the plural suffix *-kaḷ* to **ya:m* and **na:m* respectively. Ma. *ña:ññaḷ* is most probably from Ta. *ya:ṅkaḷ* (*ya:ṅkaḷ* first occurs in Cilappatika:ram 2nd cent. A.D. composed in the chera countey i.e. present day Malayalam area) by the regular change of *ṅk* > *ññ* and also the change of *y*- > *ñ* by assimilation due to the following double -*ññ*. The first person singular, *ña:n* in Malayalam seems to be created on the basis of the plural *ña:ññaḷ*. Kol. *ne:nḍ* and *ne:m* do not seem to be directly related to PDr. **na:m* because of two reasons. One is aberrant vowel correspondence Kol. *e:* < PDr. **a:* which is not otherwise attested. Another reason is that they themselves, function as the oblique bases without shortening the vowel which is the usual process of forming the oblique bases in the Dravidian languages. Though a satisfactory explanation of these forms must be left for future work, it may be suspected that Te. *e:mu*, *me:mu* might have influenced by the Pre-Kolami **na:m* to change to *ne:m*".

It is interesting to note that **ya:may* 'tortoise' (4232) is found as *ña:ma* in the Ka:ḍar dialect of Malayalam†. Therefore *y* > *ñ* should have started dialectally in Malayalam and as a result, **ya:n* should have changed into *ña:n* and it should have entered into literary language also.

Ta. *na:ṅkaḷ*, the exclusive plural cannot be considered as developed from the inclusive plural *na:m* plus the plural suffix *-kaḷ* as Subrahmanyam thinks. Since *y* > *ñ* is attested in some

† I am thankful to Mr. T. B. Venugopala Panickar for this information.

other words, *na:ṅkaḷ* might have developed from **ña:ṅkaḷ* which has got the reflex in Malayalam. But it seems that **ña:m* cannot be reconstructed to PDr. as Krishnamurti did.

4.4. Second person singular (3051)

	Nominative		Oblique
Ta.	*ni:*	OTa.	*nin-*
			niṟku (Dat.)[7]
			uṉ-[8]
			niṉ-[9]
Ma.	*ni:*		*nin-*
Ko.	*ni:*		*nin-*
			ni-, *di-*
To.	*ni:*		*nin-*
Koḍ.	*ni:(ni)*		*nin-*
			ni:-
Ka.	*ni:n* (Insc.)		*nin-*
	ni:nu		
Tu.	*i:*		*nin-*, *inn-*
Te.	*i:vu*, *ni:vu*		*nin-*, *ni:-*
Go.	*imma:*, *nimma*		*ni:-*
	nimme:		
Konḍa	*ni:n*		*ni-*, *ni:-*
Pe.	*e:n* (*eṅ*)		*ni:-*, *niṅg-*
Manḍa.	*i:n*		
Kui	*i:nu*, *ni:nu*		*ni:-*, *ning-*

7 *niṟku* - Maṇ. 10.13
8 *uṉ* - Aka. 222.2
9 *niṉ* - ñ:aṟ. Te. 2.82. 10.3

Kol.	*ni:v*	*in-*
Nk. (Ch).	*i:v*	*ni:v-*
Pa.	*i:n*	*in-*
Ga.	*i:n*	*in-*
Kur.	*ni:n*	*nin-, ning-*
Malt.	*ni:n*	*niṅg*
Br.	*ni:*	*ne:-*

* *ni:n* can be reconstructed as the PDr. nominative form. All the SDr. languages except Kannada, Telugu (in CDr.) and Brahui (in NDr.) have lost the final *-n* of the nominative. But the persence of *-n* in the oblique base confirms that *-n* in the nominative should have existed in the PDr. and the loss may be the independent innovation in the three subgroups. Moreover, the loss of intial *n-* (as well as in the plural) in the nominative is found in Tulu and in many CDr. languages. Krishnamurti explains the change as a shared innovation in the Kolami-Naiki - Parji - Gadaba subgroup of Central Dravidian and the similar loss in Tulu, Telugu (literary dialect *i:vu*(**i:n*) Kui and Pengo as an independent innovation. Subrahmanyam considers the loss of the singular as well as plural second person pronouns (both the absolute and the oblique forms) as a Proto-Central Dravidian innovation and explains the other changes in Telugu, Kui and Pengo as independent innovation. Te. *i:vu* is from pre-Te. * *i:-* which is from **ni:* < **ni:n* and *-vu* is added due to the syllabic structure of Telugu which usually does not admit words of C$\bar{V}$ type. In Koṇḍa, Kuvi and a dialect of Kui, earlier **i:n* became *ni:n* on the analogy of the oblique bases (or due to diffusion from Telugu). Kolami *ni:vu* is considered

as a borrowing from Telugu by both Krishnamurti and Subrahmanyam.

* *nin-* is reconstructed as the PDr. oblique form for all the languages. For Tamil *uṉ* and *nuṉ* see § 4.5.

4.5. Second Person Plural (3055)

	Nominative		Oblique
Ta.	*ni:m*[10]	*ni:yir*[12]	*num-*
	ni:ṅkaḷ[11]	*ni:vir*[13]	*um-*[15]
		ni:r[14]	*uṅkaḷ-*[16]
			nuṅkaḷ[17]
Ma.	*niññaḷ*		*niññaḷ*
Ko.	*ni:m*		*nim-*
To.	*nim*		*nim*
Koḍ.	*niṅga*		*niṅga-*
Ka.	*ni:m, ni:vu*		*nim-*
Tu.	*nikuḷu, niṅkḷu*	*i:ru*	*niṅkḷe-*

[10] *ni:m* - Ci:va. 1932.3

[11] *ni:ṅkaḷ* - AP. Te. 4.45.7

[12] This is the form given by Tolka:ppiyar as the second person plural (Tol. 659,174) and this is more commonly found in OTa. literary texts. (Patt. 3.143. 4.28, 10.53, Aka. 8.17, 26.18, Pat. 49.1, Cil 11.114, Maṇ 10.70, 11.143 etc.)

[13] *ni:vir* is found in Naṉṉu:l 286.

[14] *ni:r* - Aka. 271.9, Puṟ. 48.8 Patt. 6.738, Tir 1319, 1320, Cil. 7.28.2, Maṇ 6.26,26.14.

[15] *um* - Puṟ. 45.5, Naṟ. 368.3

[16] *uṅkaḷ* - Pe. TM. 1.6.2.3, Na:c. Tp. 14.1.

[17] *nuṅkaḷ* - Nam. TVi. 54.1, Nam. TVa:. 7.7.10.4

Te.		*i:ru, mi:ru*	*mim-, mi:-*
Go.	*immaṭ,* *nimaṭ*		
Koṇḍa	*mira:ṭ*		*mi:-*
Pe.	*e:p(en)*	*mi:ra*	*mi:-* *mi:ṅg, mi:-*
Manḍ.	*i:m*		
Kui		*i:ru, mi:ru*	*mi:-*
Kuvi	*mi:mbu*	*mi:vu*	*mi:-*
Kol.		*ni:r*	*im-*
Nk.(Ch.)	*i:m*		*im-*
Pa.	*i:m*		*im-*
Ga.	*i:m*		*im-*
Kur.	*ni:m*		*nim-*
Malt.	*ni:m*		*nim-*
Br.	*num*		*num-*
PDr.	**ni:m*		**nim-*

**ni:m* (nominative) and **nim-* (oblique) are the sources for the languages. However, there are other forms in Ta., Tu., Te., Koṇḍa and Kui which have the reflexes of **ni:r*. Krishnamurti explains that this is due to the replacement of the plural suffix *-m* by *-r* belonging to demontrative pronouns and nouns denoting the human group in both SDr. and CDr. languages and considers that it is an areal development because the languages involved are "geographically but not genetically contiguous". Kandappa Chetty seems to think that it is parallel development. Subrahmanyam opines that it is certain that **ni:r* also goes back to PDr. since the the languages in which its derivatives occur, belong to two different subgroups

but **ni:m* is earlier to **ni:r* (See the appendix for different possibility).

As for the origin of *ni:r*, it does not seem to be a replacement of *-m* by *-r*. Since Tamil has got *ni:yir* which is the earliest recorded form, it seems to have developed from **ni:n*, the singular form plus *ir*, the suffix occurring in the second person finite verb like *a:ṭiṉir* 'you danced' Puṟ. 109-17 *varuvir* 'you will come back' Kuṟ. 268.2 (Note also second person termination in PDr. is **i:r* according to Subrahmanyam, 1971:411). In the first and third person pronouns, there are some kind of formal similarity between the pronoun and the personal ending.

Pronoun		Personal ending
**ya:n*	'I'	**en*, **an*
**ya:m*	'we'	**em*, **am*
**avan*	'he'	**an*, **a:n*
**avaḷ*	'she'	**aḷ*, **a:ḷ* etc.

So **ir/i:r* in the second person ending might have influenced the pronoun form. The alternation *n/y* is found in some other words also.

283	*a:n*	'cow'	*a:y-aṉ*	'herdsman'	Ta.
			o:y	'cow'	Kuṟ.
			òyu	"	Malt.
1810	*ko:n*	'king'	*ko:y-il*	'palace, temple'	Ta.
			koyila	'temple'	Te.
			ko:c	'king'	Pa.
			ko:su	"	Ga.

If this explanation is correct, then *ni:r* has to be explained as the shortened form of *ni:yir* < *ni:n-ir*. *ni:vir* in Tamil can be explained as *ni:m-ir* where *-m* became *-v-* when followed by a vowel (see for the similar change (2.1.4.).

Tamil and Brahui have *num-* as the oblique form instead of **nim-*. Jules Bloch (1954:32) has already suggested that Pre-Tamil **nim-* has changed into *num-* under the influence of the following bilabial nasal *-m*. It should be pointed out that in Pre-Tamil, the sequence **-im* was not tolerated and hence this change (see for details, Shanmugam, f.b). *-um* is found form MOTa. and this is due to the loss of initial vowel. Subrahmanyam has suggested that the loss may partly be due to the first person oblique forms which have only vowels initially. The singular oblique forms *uṉ-* and *nuṉ-* are analogical forms created on the basis of plural oblique forms.

The oblique form, *num-* in Brahui has undergone the same change and additionally, it became the nominative form.

4.6. Third Person

	Singular (2612)		Plural (2582)	
	Nom.	Obl.	Nom.	Obl.
Ta.	*ta:ṉ*	*taṉ-*	*ta:m, ta:ṅkaḷ*[18]	*tam, taṅkaḷ-*[19]
Ma.	*ta:n*	*tan*	*ta:m*	*tam-*

[18] *ta·ṅkaḷ* - Ap. Te. 5.8.7.2.

[19] *taṅkaḷ* - Cil. 23.175, Maṇ. 28 64.

Ko.	*ta:n*	*tan-*, *ta-*	*ta:m*	*tam-*
To.	*to:n*	*tan-*	*tam*	*tam-*
Koḍ.	*ta:ni*	*tan*	*taṅga*	*taṅga-*
Ka.	*ta:n*	*tan-*	*ta:m*, *ta:vu*	*tam-*, *tav-*
Tu.	*ta:nu*			
Te.	*ta:nu*	*tan-*	*ta:mu*	*tam-*
Go.	*ta:n-*	*tan-*	*tamma:*	
Kui	*ta:nu*, *tanu*	*tan-*	*ta:ru* (mas.) *ta:i* (neut.)	*ta:ṛan-*
Kuvi	*ta:nu*, *tanu*	*tan-*	*tambu:*, *ta:mbu*	*tam-*
Pe.	*ta:n*	*ta:-*, *tang-*		
Kol.	**ta:n*	*tan-*	**ta:m*	*tam-*
Pa.	*ta:n*	*tan-*	*ta:m*	*tam-*
Ga.	*ta:n*	*tan-*	*ta:m*	*tam-*
Kur.	*ta:n*	*tang-*	*ta:m*	*tam-*
Malt.	*ta'n*, *tani*	*taṅg-*	*tām* *tami*	*tam-*
Br.	*te:n*	—	—	—
PDr.	**ta:n*	**tan-*	**ta:m*	**tam-*

Kandappa Chetty alone has discussed the reconstruction of these forms. There is no serious problem in the reconstruction of **ta:n* (sg. nom.) **tan-* (sg. obl.) **ta:m* (pl. nom.) and **tam-* (pl. obl.) to the PDr. These forms are used not only as the third person but also reflexive pronouns in many languages and so both the meanings might have developed in PDr. also. The usage of the third person and reflexive can be illustrated from OTa.

ta:ṉe:	*kaḷvaṉ*	'he (is) the thief' Kuṟ. 25.1
aṟiya:ṉ	*ta:ṉum*	'he also does not know' Kuṟ. 74.3
ta:ṉ	*taṇṇiyaḷ*	'she (is) cool' Kuṟ. 84.5
koṇkaṉ	*ta:ṉ*	'chief-himself' Kuṟ. 294.8

In Old Tamil, these forms are also used as infectional increments (see § 5.) and also emphatic particles.

aḷito: taṉe: 'It (is) pitiable (emp.) Puṟ 5.8.

APPENDIX

The forms with the dental nasal, *n*- in the first person singular, and the first person exclusive plural and also the reflexes of the second person plural **ni:r* are found only in SDr. Krishnamurthi considers *n*- form in the first person as the reflex of PDr. **ñ*- forms and **ni:r* as the areal development. But, on the other hand, Subrahmanyam considers that *n*- forms in the first person as historically later (and so it can not be reconstructed to PDr.) and **ni:r* as the reflex of PDr. **ni:r*. It is interesting to note that a feature which is considered by one as proto-feature is taken by another as a later one and vice-versa.

Leaving aside the individul preferences, they are bound to interpret only one of the two ways on the basis of existing theory regarding the divergence of the Proto-Dravidian. Till date, the Dravidiologists are of the opinion that the PDr. should have diverged first into three major subgroups, viz., SDr., CDr. and NDr. So, any common feature found in two different subgroups has to be interpreted as either due

to (1) the retention of the Proto-feature or (2) independent and parallel development. But theoretically there is one more possibility, namely the common feature due to common period of development. In that case, the divergence of PDr. has also to be interpreted differently. That is, PDr. first splits into two groups, PSCDr. (Proto-South-Central Dravidian) and PNDr. and then PSCDr. into PSDr. and PCDr.

In the case of pronouns, NDr. stands apart from the two subgroups and it seems to have preserved the PDr. feature without any morphological change. But SDr. and CDr. have common morphological features (and some phonological features too). In addition to this, there are common features in other aspects. They are : the occurrences of (1) *-*kkan* as the masculine suffix (§ 2.23c), (2) *-*tt*- as the inflectional increment (§5.23.5) and (3) the development of the formative -*pp*-/-*kk*- before the infinitive suffix -*a* (Subrahmanyam, 1971:440)

There is another point which is worth considering here. Subrahmanyam (1968c) has now proved that Tulu is a SDr. language and it should have first deviated as a separate language and the rest of the languages (in SDr.) remained together for sometime. (There is also additional proof for the above conclusion not mentioned by Subrahmanyam. This is found in the use of inflectional increment, see especially § 5.23.5). But there are common features found exclusively in Tulu and CDr. Exx. (1) the plural suffixes are *-*kaḷ* and *-*ḷ* (2.23.6). (2) the development of the additional element in the numeral eight in Tulu and Telegu (§3.8) and (3) the

development of adjective marker *-i* (Subrahmanyam, 1968c. 63, 64). These, especially one and three, are considered as PDr. features preserved in two different sub-groups (SDr. and CDr.) and lost in NDr. But in the light of above discussion, can we assume that these common features in Tulu and CDr. as well as common features between SDr. and CDr. discussed above, are due to common period of development as Proto-South-Central Dravidian?

V

INFLECTIONAL INCREMENTS

In all the Dravidian languages, there are certain groups of nouns in which the nominative form is different from the oblique form to which alone case suffixes are added. As the oblique form of the noun is the inflectional base, the suffixes used for forming the inflectional base are called 'Inflectional increments' by Caldwell (1956:259). Subbayya (1911, 10, 13-5) and Ramaswami Aiyar have named them 'augments'. They are referred as "empty morphs" by some modern linguists (Shanmugam Pillai, 1964:105-7. Radhakrishnan, 1964:115-9 and Kumaraswami Raja, 1970:41-48) and as *ca:riyai* by the native Tamil grammarians (Tol. 112, 118-9 and Nannu:l 126).

I. DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

5.1. Tamil

The material is mainly collected from Tolka:ppiyam and OTa. literature. The statements in Tolka:ppiyam are referred to first and after comparing with the literary attestations, some kind of generalisation is made.

5.1.1. *-an-*

-an- occurs after *e:ḻ* 'seven' (Tol. 194) and after all other numerals ending in *-u* (Tol. 198). *e:ḻ-an-ai* 'seven' (Acc.)

oṉṟ-aṉ-a:ṉ (Inst.) Kuṟ. 20, 2.2 *oṉṟ-aṉ-ai* (Acc.) Tol. 510; *oṉṟ-aṉ-kku* > *oṉṟaṟku* (Dat.) Tol. 665. < *oṉṟu* 'one' *a:ṟ-aṉ-kku* > *a:ṟaṟku* (Dat.) Tol. 583 < *a:ṟu* 'six'; *aint- aṉ-ai* (Acc.) Pat. 24.15 < *aintu* 'five'; *iraṇṭ-aṉ-iṉ* (Comp.) < *iraṇṭu* 'two'.

Here the increment is absent before sociative *iraṇṭ-oṭu* 'with two' Tol. 596.

There are some intances in the literary texts contrary to the above statement: two without augment and one with the augment *-iṉ-*. *ainta:ṉ* 'by five' (Puṟ. 400.2); *iraṇṭukku* 'to two' (Maṇ. 29.220); *a:ṟ-iṉ-il* 'among six' (Patt. 1.180).

-aṉ- occurs also after neuter singular demonsrative and interrogative pronouns (Tol. 594 and 200). Exx. *atu* 'that thing', *at-aṉ-ai* (Acc.) Puṟ. 221.9, *at-aṉ-a:l* (Inst.) Kal. 52.21, *at-aṟ-ku* < **at-aṉ-kku* (Dat.) Naṟ. 372.9, *at-aṉ-iṉ* (Comp.) Puṟ. 280.5, *at-aṉ-oṭu* (Soc.). Tol. 558, *at-aṉ-atu* (Gen.) Tol. 594. However, in Maṇime:kalai, there are some examples without the increment especially before locative case. *at-il* 'in that thing' (11.48), *it-il* 'in this thing' (8.40).

Tolka:ppiyam has not referred to the occurrences of this augment after neuter singular participial nouns but there are examples even in Tolka:ppiyam with this augment[1]. It is found to be used obligatory before instrumental and dative and optionally before accusative.

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[1] This and some other similar observations are already made by the commentators of Tolka:ppiyam as early as the 10th century. See, for their contribution, Shanmugam, 1967:208-18.

Exx.

enpatu 'that which says'	*enpat-an-a:l* (Inst.) Tol. 1993.23
mikkatu 'that which increased'	*mikkat-an-a:l* (Inst.) Man. 27.141
vantatu 'that which came'	*vantat-ar-ku* (Dat.)< **vantat-an + kku* Aiṅ. 32
olintatu 'that which remained'	*olintat-ai* (Acc.) Tol. 993
moliya:yatu 'that which (is) not said'	*moliya:tat-ai* (Acc.) Tol. 1610.6

5.1.2. *-arr-*

Eventhough Tolka:ppiyam refers to this augment as *-varru-*, it is considered as *-arr-* only (Ramaswami Ayyer, 1939). This occurs after indefinite pronouns *pala* 'many things', *cila* 'few things' etc. (Tol. 174), interrogative pronouns, *ya:* (Tol. 175), *ya:vai* (Tol. 178) 'which', demonstrative plural pronouns, *av* 'those things', *iv* 'these things', *uv* 'these things', (intermediate) (Tol. 183), *avai*, *ivai* and *uvai*[2] and *ella:m* 'all things'.

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[2] The demonstrative neuter plural pronouns have two sets of oblique forms, *avarr-*, *avaiyarr*; *ivarr-*, *ivaiyarr-*, etc., as they have two sets of nominative forms *av*, *avai*, *iv*, *ivai*, etc. according to Tolka:ppiyam Ss. 122, 133, 177, 183. No occurrence of *avaiyarr-*, *ivaiyarr-*, etc. has so far been noted in OTa. Interrogative neuter plural forms *ya:* and *ya:vai* have the same oblique form, *ya:varr-* (Tol. 175, 178). Iraiyana:r kalaviyalurai (first prose work in Tamil written in 10th Cent. A.D.) has *avaiyirrai* 'they (neut.) (Acc.)' and *avaiyirrirku* (Dat.).

pala 'many'	*palavaṟṟ-*		Tol. 210
av 'those things'	*av-aṟṟ-uḷ*	(Loc.)	Tol. 241
	avaṟṟ-oṭu	(Soc.)	Tol. 873
iv 'these things'	*iv-aṟṟ-oṭu*	„	Tol. 1097

There is one instance of *cila* occurring without the augment, *cila-viṉ-um* 'in the few' Par. 15.8. The declensional forms of *ella:m* (*ella:vaṟṟai* (Acc.), *ella:vaṟṟa:ṉ* (Inst.) etc.) are not attested in OTa.

The neuter plural participial nouns can also take this increment. Exx. *payila:tavai* 'those which do not occur in usage': *payila:tavaṟṟai* (Acc.) Tol. 782. *nilla:tavai* 'those which are not permanent': *nilla:tavaṟṟai* (Acc.) Tir. 331 etc.

5.1.3. *-iṉ-*

It occurs after words ending in *-a*, *-a:*, *-u*, *-u:*, *-e:* and *-au* (Tol. 173); *-ñ* and *-ṉ* (Tol. 182) and after a few words ending in *-m* (Tol. 186). It also occurs after the words, *tev* 'enemity' (Tol. 185), *aḷaṉ* 'corpse' and *puḷaṉ* '?' (Tol. 193) and words ending in shorter *-u* except those ending in *-ṭu*/*-ṟu* preceded by a long syllable (Tol. 195). It never comes before the case suffix *-iṉ* (Tol. 131).

As for the literary usages are concerned, the following generalisation can be made. *-iṉ-* occurs after words ending in *-a*, *-a:*, *-u*, *-u:*, *-e:* and *-ai* before dative and instrumental case suffixes with high frequency and before sociative suffix with low frequency.

Exx. *eḻutt-iṟ-ku* < *eḻuttiṉ-kku* 'to letter', Tol. 42. *pa:-v-iṟ-ku* 'to poetry' Tol. 1413; *a:ṭu:u-v-iṟ-ku* 'to male'

Tol. 1316. *niṟai-yiṟ-ku* 'to niṟai' Tol.170; *iṉmai-y-iṉ-a:l* 'because of poverty' (Inst.) Maṇ. 29.447; *opp-iṉ-a:ṉ* 'by similarity' (Inst.) Tol. 698. *kanav-iṉ-a:l* 'by the dream' Kal. 92.11; *muṟai-y-iṉ-a:l* 'by the way' Kal. 104.26; *ava:-v-iṉ-a:l* 'by the desire' Kal. 97.24; *kuṟipp-iṉ-ai* < *kuṟippu-* 'implication' (Acc.) Tol. 1123.2.

After the long vowels *-iṉ-* occurs before dative. But after *u*, there are approximately 22 instances where *-iṉ* occurs before dative and one instance without *-iṉ* (*karumpu-kku* 'to sugar cane' - Kal. 64.19). There is one instance without *-iṉ-* after long vowel and before instrumental (*na:-v-a:l* 'with the tongue' Maṇ. 13.13, 27.16). *-iṉ-* does not occur after long vowels and before sociative. After nouns ending in *-u*, there are only 6 instances (*kiḷaṅk-iṉ-oṭu* 'with the root' Aiṅ 379, *ña:ṉṟ-iṉ-oṭu* 'with time' Puṟ. 376. 14 etc.) with *-iṉ-* and 86 instances without *-iṉ-* (*kiḷaṅk-oṭu* 'with the root' Puṟ. 176.4, *kuṟunt-oṭu* 'with the tender leaves' Kuṟ. 372.1 etc.)

It also occurs after closed short monosyllabic words. Exx. *col* 'word' : *colliṟku* -Dat. (Tol. 780), *eṇ* 'number': *eṇṇiṟku* -Dat. (Tol. 439), *kaḷ* 'toddy' : *kaḷḷiṟku* (Puṟ. 3005). There are also some instances without augment. *col-coṟku* (Tol. 707) *kaṇ* 'eye' *-kaṭku* (Puṟ. 167.4, Aka. 110.25). *kal* 'stone' - *kaṟku* (Cil. 25.169). Before accusative, *-iṉ-* occurs twice: *kaṇ-kaṇṇiṉai* 'eye' (Tir. 1100), *puḷ* 'bird' - *puḷḷiṉai* (Par. 3.17); one instance without augment *-collai* (Kuṟ. 357.4, Tir. 644, Cil. 9-p-2). Before instrumental, *iṉ* occurs twice: *peṇ* 'girl' *peṇṇiṉa:l* (Tir. 1280), *colliṉa:l* 'by the word' (Tir. 826), once without augment: *kaṇṇa:l* 'by the eye' (Kal. 39.44)

-in- also occurs after the increment *-arru-* before dative obligatorily (*avarririku* 'to them' Par. 2.12) and optionally after *-tt-* and before dative. There are approximately 9 instances: *pulam* 'filed' *-pulattirku* (Kal. 78.19, see for other examples, Tir. 76, 112, 178, 261, 1299, 1330 and Man. 28.96, 29.134). In contrast to this, there are 4 instances without *-in-* before dative : *tavam* 'penance' *tava-ttu-kku*(Pur. 358·3), *ullam* 'mind' : *ulla-ttu-kku* (Kur. 58), *intiyam* 'sense organ': *intiya-ttu-kku-* (Man. 29.258). It occurs also in other case suffixes. *nila-tt-in-a:n* 'by the field' Tol. 698), *mara-tt-in-a:n* 'by the valour' (Tol. 1025.4). After the words of CV̄*tu/ru* type, *-in-* occurs after the increment *-tt-*. Exx. *na:ttirku* < *na:t-tt-in-kku* 'to the country' (Tir. 737); *vi:ttirku* 'to the house' (Man. 30.31). But there is one instance without *-in-* (*na:ttukku* 'to the country' (Man. 26.42).

There are quite a few instances of this augment before the case suffix *in* and it is found once surprisingly enough is Tolka:ppiyam itself, *kalavinin* 'during the period of pre-martial love' (Tol. 1445), *karpinin* 'from chastity' (Aka. 86.13). *ellinin* 'at night' (Aka. 100.4), *kalattinin* 'in the field' (Kur. 318.3), *iravinin* 'at night' (Kur. 318.3; Kal. 46.10) etc.

5.1.4. *-attu*

-attu occurs after tree names ending in *-a* or *-a:* and before locative *kan* (Tol. 181), after nouns ending in *-m* (Tol. 185) and after the words *alan* and *pulan* (Tol. 193). But *-attu* can be taken as *-tt-* after *-m* ending and the loss of *-m* can be explained by the sandhi rule, *m* → Ø/*-tt*.

In literary texts, *-tt-* occurs after *-m* ending words obligatorily before all case suffixes other than sociative and dative cases. *ve:ḷam* 'male elephant' *ve:ḷattai* (Acc.) Kal. 97.20; *ćiṉam* 'angry' *ciṉatta:l*(Inst.)Patt. 9.71; *kalam* 'vessel', *kalattil* (Loc. Patt. 8.198; *paruvam* 'season' *paruvatta:ṉ* (Inst.) Tol. 1092; *puṉam* 'farm in the up land' *puṉattiṉ* (Comp. Pat. 36.5); *ulakam* 'world' *ulakattuḷ* (Loc.) Pat. 22.4.

There are seven instances without *-tt-* before dative.

kuṟṟiyalukaram 'shorter *u*' - *kuṟṟiyalukarakku* (Tol. 177)
a:ciriyam 'a metre' - *a:ciriyakku* (Tol. 1309)
ve:ḷam 'elephant' - *ve:ḷakku* (Tol. 1533)
vaiyam 'word' - *vaiyakku* (Tir. 751)
nilam 'land' - *nilakku* (Tir. 572)
kulam 'clan' - *kulakku* (Cil. 24-1-16, 26.107)
maṉam 'mind' - *maṉakku* (Maṇ. 21.30, 22.18, 24.158)

and 13 instances with *-tt-* (see § 5.1.3) before dative.

As for the sociative, there are approximately 194 instances without *-tt*.[3]

ka:lam 'time' (suffix) : *ka:lamoṭu* (Tol. 683)
neñcam 'heart, mind' : *neñcamoṭu* (Tol. 1059)
cuṟṟam 'relatives' : *cuṟṟamoṭu* (Puṟ. 362.19)

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[3] No of instances with *-tt-* : Tol. 3 (710, 760, 1152); Pat. 1 (53.17); Puṟ 3 (18.21, 153.9, 309.8); Kal.9; Patt. 1(91); Paṟ. 2; Tir. 4; Cil. 4; Maṇ. 5; Naṟ. Ø; Kuṟ. Ø; Aiṇ. Ø; Aka. Ø.

No. of instances without *-tt-* : Tol 16; Pat. 16; Puṟ. 31; Kal. 12; Patt. 35; Par. 9; Tir. Ø; Cil. 24; Maṇ. 19; Naṟ. 6; Kuṟ. 10; Aiṅ. 8; Aka. 8.

a:yam 'friends' : *a:yamoṭu* (Kal. 27.19, Patt. 3.176) etc. and 32 instances with *-tt-*.

aṟam 'virtue' : *aṟattoṭu* (Tol. 1152)
kaṭa:m 'must' : *kaṭa:ttoṭu* (Pat. 53.17)
nilam 'land' : *nilattoṭu* (Puṟ. 18.21)
kalam 'vessel' : *kalattoṭu* (Kal. 116.5) etc.

What is generally considered as the doubling of the final consonants *-ṭ* and *-ṟ* can be interpreted as the addition of the increment *-tt-* with the operation of the sandhi rule.

kaḷiṟu 'elephant' - *kaḷiṟṟa:l* (Inst. Puṟ. 14.1)

ko:ṭu 'tusk' - *ko:ṭṭa:l* (Inst. Kal. 101.29); *ko:ṭṭai* (Acc. Kal. 135.4); *ko:ṭṭiṉ* (Comp. Patt. 6.289).

e:ṟu 'ox' - *e:ṟṟai* (Acc. Kal. 106.15); *e:ṟṟiṉ* (Comp. Pat. 52.15).

-tt- occurs after words ending in *-ṭu* which is preceded by either by a long mono-syllable or more than one syllable : *pakaṭu* 'male elephant' : *pakaṭṭ-* (Kuṟ. 91.6). But in the case of words ending in *-ṟu*, *-tt-* occurs optionally before sociative and obligatorily before other case suffixes.[4] *e:ṟu* 'bull' : *e:ṟṟoṭu* (Kuṟ. 268.4, 344.3) ~ *e:ṟoṭu* (Puṟ. 160.3, Pat. 71.13); *kaḷiṟu* 'male elephant' : *kaḷiṟṟoṭu* (Kuṟ. 292.3,

[4] It is to be noted that Tolka:ppiyar (Tol. 132) has also pointed out the optional occurrence of inflectional increment before the case suffix *-oṭu* : *ca:riyai-y- iyaṟkai, uṭaimaiyum iṉmaiyum oṭuvayiṉ okkum* 'the nature of the inflectional inerement, the absence and the presence will be same in the case of *oṭu*.'

Pat. 71.13, Pur. 274.3, Tir. 774) ~ *kalirotu* (Kur. 393.5, Pur. 307, Pat. 90.7)[5].

5.2. Malayalam

5.2.1. *-tt-*

This occurs between *-m* ending neuter nouns and all case suffixes.

Exx: *kalam* 'vessel' *kala-tt-ai* (Acc.); *to:ttam* 'garden' *to:tta-tt-a:l* (Inst.); *ma:ñkalyam* 'scared thread' *ma:ñkalya-tt-ukku* (Dat.); *makam* 'a star' *maka-tt-in* (Gen.) *mantapam* 'hall' *mantapa-tt-il* (Loc.); *mantapa-tt-ul* (Loc.).

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[5] Tolkappiyam specifies that *-tam-* occurs as an augment after *ella:rum* 'all persons' (S. 191). There are atleast two instances in Sangam literature with dative case and both of them occur without the augment: *ella:r-kkum* 'to all persons' (pur. 58.10; Tir. 582). In Sangam literature *tam* is also used after epicene plural nouns. Exx: *ka:talar tamakku* 'to lovers' (Kur. 48.7); *nampiyar tammotu* 'with young men' (Cil. 14.103) The other augments like *nam*, which occurs after *ella:m* 'all of us' (Tol. 190) and *num*, which occurs after *elli:rum* 'all of you' (Tol. 191) are not recorded in Sankam literature. The augment *tan* is found after singular nouns (human or non-human) and after personal pronouns. Exx. *ña:lam tannil* 'in the world' (Patt. 1.162) *cañcayan tannotu* 'with Sanjayan' (Cil 26 143), *untanakku* 'to you' (Man 16.113).

-u- is not used in OTa. as frequently as in MTa. It is found between a word ending in *-l*, *-ḷ* *-n* or *-ṇ* and dative case: *kaṇ* 'eye' : *kaṇṇ-u-kku* (pur 167.7); *na:ṇ* 'modesty *na:ṇ u-kku;* (Tir. 1015); *avan* 'that man' *avan-u-kku* (Man 29.384), *mannan* 'king' : *mannanukku* (Man 25.193); *kaḷ* 'toddy' : *kaḷḷ-u-kku* (Tir. 1281); *ma:kkaḷ* 'people' *ma:kkaḷu kku* (Pur 328.4.).

But there are a few instances in Old Malayalam without this augment before the case suffix *-o:ṭu* (Ramaswamy Ayer 1936:28) *tiṟam: tiṟam-o:ṭu* 'with vigour' *ña:lam* : *ña:lam-o:ṭu* 'with the world'

-tt- occurs after *-ṭ(u)/-ṟ(u)* ending nouns which is preceded by a long syllable. Exx. *ka:ṭ-tt-all* > *ka:ṭṭa:l* 'with forest' *ku:ṟ-tt-in* > *ku:ṟṟin* 'with share'

5.2.2. *-an-*

This augment is not found in literary Malayalam, but occurs in the insciiptions with reference to neuter singular demonstrative Pronouns (Proximate and Remote) before all case suffixes except locative.

It is in free-variation with *-in-* from early period (i.e. 10th century)

Exx:

itu: 'this' *it-an-ai* (Acc.) (10th cent), *it-an-ku* > *it aṟku.* (Dat.) *it-an-oṭu* (Soc.) 12th cent.

5.2.3. *-in-*

It occurs obligatorily before dative and genitive and optionally before accusative and instrumental case suffixes and after the neuter nouns ending in *-u*, *-u*: and *-a*:. This is the same case with the Inscriptional and literary Malayalam. *viḷakku* : *viḷakk-in-ukku* 'to the light'; *ve:ṇa:ṭu* : *ve:ṇa:ṭṭ-in -ku* 'to Veṇa:ḍu' (10th cent. insc.); *viḻa:v-in-u* 'to the festival'

Closed short mono-syllabic neuter nouns ending in *-l*, *-ḷ*, *-n*, *-ṉ* and *r* "invariably embody the augments before

dative and genitive (Ramaswami Ayer 1936:24). No form of his type is found in the inscriptions.

Closed long monosyllabic neuter nouns ending in *-l*, *-ḷ* and *-r* take this augment optionally before dative and genitive in OMa., but obligatorily in New Malayalam. The same is the case with regard to the addition of *-in-* after disyllabic words.

It is not found generally after plural suffix though exceptional instances like *padyaññaḷ-in-a:l* is also attested. BhG. (Ramasami Ayer 1936:25.)

This *-in-* occurs obligatorily after numerals in inscriptions and literature. Its occurrence after demonstrative neuter singular pronouns is found in literary and inscriptional Malayalam. Exx: *iraṇṭ-in a:l*: 'by the two (12th cent. Insc.) *na:l-in-nu* 'to the four' (12th cent Insc), *at-in-nu* 'to that', *it-in-il* 'in this' *it-in-u-ku* 'to this'. *-in-* also occurs after the other aguments *-tt-* and *-ṟṟ-* and before dative, locative and instrumental cases. Exx. *cantana-tt-in-u-kku* 'to sandal' (10th cent.) *ava-iṟṟu-kku* < *ava-ṟṟ-in-kku* 'to them'; *ivai-y-iṟṟ-in-il* 'in them' (10th cent Insc.) *kara-tt-in-a:l* 'by the hand'

5.2.4. *-aṟṟ-*.

This occurs after neuter plural demonstrative stems *av* 'those' and *iv* 'these' in the 12th century inscriptions only. It is found optionally in literature after *ella:m* 'all things'.

It is also found as *-iṟṟ-* after *avai* 'those' and *ivai* 'these' in the 10th century inscriptions and in literature. Exx: *av-aṟṟ-ai* 'those' (Acc.); *iv-aṟṟ-a:l* 'by them *ivaiy-iṟṟ-il* 'in them'.

Both *-arr-* and *-irr-* are found after *pala* 'many things' and *cila* 'few things' in literature only but not in NMa. *-rr-* also occurs after *ella:* 'all things' (*ella:rr-*) in both OMa, and NMa. (Ramaswami Ayyar, 1936:28.)

5.3. Kota

5.3.1. *-t-*

This occurs between the stems ending in *-m* which is not preceded by a vowel or *y* and all the case suffixes except *-o:ṛ* (which is corresponding to Ta. *-o:ṭu*). Exx. *mar-t-n* 'tree' (Acc.); *mar-t-a:r* 'by the tree'; *mar-t-ltr* 'from the tree'; *ka:lm-t-l* 'in the time' *molm-t-k* 'to the hare'.

However, there are certain exceptions as pointed by Emeneau (1967b:75) Exx. *valm-k* 'to the basket'. But it is not clear whether it is applicable to all cases or only to dative.

-t- also occurs after the stems ending in *-r/-ṛ* which is preceded by a long vowel and before all cases. Exx. *na:ṛ-t-:k* >*na:ṭk* 'to the country'; *kaṛ : -t-n* > *ka:ṭn* 'field' (Acc.); *ve:r-t-aṛ* > *ve:ṯa:r* 'by the root'; *o:yṇa:r-t-l* > *o:yna:tl* 'in the path'.

5.3.2 *-n-*

-n- occurs after the neuter singular demonstrative pronouns and neuter interrogative pronouns and before all cases except accusative. Exx.

ad 'that thing' *ad-n-k* (Dat.) *ad-n-l* (Loc.) *ad-n-o:ṛ* (Soc.) *ad-n-d* (Gen.) *ed-n-a:r* 'by what/which', *edn-ltr-* 'from what/which (Abl.)'.

t → *ṭ*/*ṛ*–

t → *ṯ*/*r*–

$\begin{Bmatrix} ṛ \\ r \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / - \begin{Bmatrix} ṭ \\ ṯ \end{Bmatrix}$

5.4. Toda

5.4.1. -*t*-

-*t*- occurs after nouns ending in -*m*, -*n* or -*ṇ* and before dative, ablative, locative and accusative cases. Exx. *me:ṇ* 'tree' *me:ṇ-t-k* (Dat.) *koḷṇ* 'threshing flour' *koḷ-t-n* (Acc.) *koḷ-t-k* (Dat.) *poḷiku:ḍm* 'school' : *poḷiku:ḍ-t-niḏ* (Abl.)

5.4.2. -*n*-

It is found to occur between the animate nouns and instrumental case. Exx. *ir* 'buffalo' *ir-n-a:l* (Inst.)

5.5. Kodagu

5.5.1. -*t*-

-*t*- occurs after neuter nouns ending in -*a* which is derived from *-*am*. This is found before all cases according to Balakrishnan, and before all cases except dative according to Garman.

Exx: *mara* 'tree'

Garman	Balakrishnan	
mara-tīn-a	*mar-t-n-a*	(Acc.)
mara-t-oṇḍi	*mara-t-oṇḍi*	(Inst.)
mara-kī	{ *mara-tī-kī* ~ *mara-kī*	(Dat.)

mara-t-iñji *mara-t-inji* (Abl.)
mara-tī-ra { *mara-t-ra* (Loc.)
mara-t-lī ,,

-t- occurs before the other increment *-(ī) n-* which is followed by the accusative case suffix. Exx: *mara-t-īn-a*/ *mara-t-n-a*.

5.5.2. *-īn-* / *-n-*

-īn- occurs between the neuter demonstrative singular pronouns and accusative, dative and genitive cases. Exx: *adi* 'that-thing' *ad-īn-a* (Acc.) *ad-īṅ-gu* (Dat.) *ad-īṇ-ḍa* (Gen.). *-n-* occurs after neuter nouns ending in *-t-* and many other nouns of the patterns CV̄C, CVV, CV̌CV, CV̌CCV and before accusative, ablative and instrumental.

u:ri 'village' *u:r-n-a* (Acc.) *u:r-n-oṇḍi* (Inst.) *u:r-n-iñji* (Abl.); *ka:lī* 'leg' *ka:l-n-a* (Acc.) *ka:l-n-oṇḍi* (Inst.) *ka:l-n-iñji* (Abl.); *kay* 'hand' *kay-n-oṇḍi* (Inst.) *kay-n-iñji* (Abl.).

me:ji 'table' *me:ji-n-a* (Acc.) *me:ji-n-oṇḍi* (Inst.) *me:ji-n-iñji* (Abl.); *baṭṭe* 'road' *baṭṭe-n-a* (Acc.); *baṭṭe-n-oṇḍi* (Inst.); *baṭṭe-n-iñji* (Abl.).

-ī- occurs after the other inflectional increment *-t-* and before locative case according to Garman and between *-t-* and dative according to Balakrishnan. Exx. *mara-t-ī-ra* (Loc.) *mara-t-ī-kī* (Dat.)

5.5.3. *-a:n-*

-a:n- occurs after the numerals and verbal nouns with the suffix *-vë* and before accusative, dative and genitive cases

Exx: *eṭṭī* 'eight' *eṭṭ-a:n-a* (Acc.) *eṭṭ-a:n-gu* (Dat.) *eṭṭ-a:ṇ-ḍa* (Gen.); *ma:ḍīvë* 'doing' *ma:ḍ-a:n-a* (Acc.) *ma:ḍ-a:n-gu* (Dat.) *ma:ḍ-a:ṇ-ḍa* (Gen.)

$$n \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} n \\ \text{ṇ} \end{Bmatrix} / - \begin{Bmatrix} l \\ \text{ḍ} \end{Bmatrix}$$

5.6. Kannada

5.6.1. *-d-*

-d- occurs after neuter singular nominal bases ending in *-a* (derived form **-am*) and before instrumental, genitive and locative case suffixes. *mara-d-inda* 'by the tree' (Inst.) *tapa-d-a* 'of the penance' (Gen.) *ma:sa-d-uḷ* 'in the month' (Loc.).

5.6.2. *-aṟ-*

It is added to the neuter demonstrative pronouns whether singular or plural, and to numerals before all cases except accusative. It is found both in inscriptions and *Vaḍḍa:ra:dhane*. *ad-aṟ-im* 'by that' *ad-aṟ-ke* 'to that' *ad-aṟ-a* 'of that' *ad-aṟ-oḷ* 'in that' *av-aṟ-im* 'by those' *av-aṟ-ke* 'to those' *eraḍ-aṟ-a* 'of two' *eraḍ-aṟ-im* 'by the two' *panneraḍ-aṟ-oḷage* 'in the twelve'.

-aṟ- also occurs after *kelavu* 'few things' and before genitive, locative and dative cases. *kalav-aṟ-ke* (Dat.) *kelav-aṟ-a* (Gen.) *kelav-aṟ-im* (Inst.)

5.6.3. *-in-/-i*

This occurs between the neuter singular nominal bases ending in a consonant and all cases except accusative.

Exx. *ja:-d-in-a* 'of red colour' (Gen. Vaḍḍ.) *magaḷ-in-ge* 'to the daughter' (Dat. Vaḍḍ.) *pa:mg-in-im* 'in the manner' (Inst. Vaḍḍ.) *kalvapp-in-a:* 'of *kaḻvappu* (a place)' *eḻt-in-oḷ* 'with bullock' *pe:ṟ-in-ge/pe:ṟ-i-ge* (Dat.) 'per load' *mattar-in-ge/mattar-gge* (Dat.) 'to the measure Mattalu'.

It also occurs after epicene plural nouns and before dative case. Exx. *bhaṭar-in-ge* 'to the scholars, *de:var-in-ge/de:var-i-ge* 'to God', *bhaḷa:r-i-ge* 'to the venerable one'.

5.6.4. *-um-*

This occurs after numerals, the neuter singular nominal bases (ending in *-i*, *-e*, *-u* and *-a*) and the masculine and neuter plural nouns and before accusative case optionally. Exx. *eṇṭ-um-an* 'eight' (Acc. Vaḍḍ. 97.13); *panneraḍ-um-an* 'twelve' (Acc. Insc.); *paḷḷi-y-um-an* 'school' (Acc.); *riṣiyar-um-an* 'sages' (Acc.); *akṣaraṅgaḷ-um-an* 'letters' (Acc.).[6]

5.7. Badaga

5.7.1. *-n-*

This occurs between the neuter singular demonstrative pronouns and accusative and genitive case suffixes. Exx. *adu* 'that thing', *adu-n-a* (Acc.); *adu-n-a* (Gen.).

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[6] According to Gai (1946:61), *-an-* occurs between neuter noun and locative *-o:ḷ*. *hariṇa:ṅk-an-oḷ* 'in the deer marked moon' This *-an-* cannot be considered as inflectional increment because it is really a masculine suffix. *hariṇa:ṅkan* because it is customary to add the masculine suffix. *-an* to the names of deities. I am thankful to Dr. K. Kushalappa gowda for this information.

5.7.2. *-r-*

-r- occurs after epicene plural pronoun and before accusative, genitive and instrumental cases. Exx: *avka* 'they' *avka-r-a* (Acc.), *avka-r-enda* (Inst.), *avka-r-a* (Gen.).

Before genitive and instrumental cases it is found to be optional. *avka-r-enda/avk-enda* 'by them', *avka-r-a/avkk-a* 'of them'.

5.7.3. *-d-*

This occurs between the neuter nouns ending in either a vowel or a consonant and instrumental and locative cases. Exx: *ha:va-d-enda* 'by the snake;' *pe:par-d-enda* 'by paper'; *mara-d-o:* 'in the tree'; *dana-d-o:/o:ga* 'in the cow'; *ka:l-d-o:* 'in the leg'; *mosar-d-o:* 'in the curd'.

5.8. **Tulu**

5.8.1. *-t-/-d-*

-t- occurs after the nominal bases belonging to I and II sets (Shankara Bhat, 1967:83). *-d-*occurs after the III set of the nominal bases and before the genitive case.

Nom.	Gen.
pu: 'flower'	*pu:-t-a*
kay 'hand'	*kay-t-a*
kuri 'a sheep'	*kuri-t-a*
krimi 'worm'	*krimi-t-a*
simma 'sion'	*simman-t-a*
vastra 'cloth'	*vastaran-t-a*
kañji 'calf'	*kañji-d-a*
boḷpu 'light'	*boḷpu-d-a*

-t- also occurs after the neuter singular demonstrative pronoun (both proximate and remote) and interrogative pronoun *da:ḍavu* 'what' and before genitive.

Exx.	Nom.		Gen.
	undu	'this'	*unde-t-a*
	avu	'that'	*av-t-a*
	da:ḍavu	'what'	*da:ḍay-t-a*

-t- is also found to occur after the verbal nouns ending in *avu* (Brigel 1872:30) *maḷpunavu* 'doing' : *maḷpunne-t-a* (Gen.) *-t-* also occurs after the other increment *-e-* (which is preceded by the proximate demonstrative neuter singular pronoun and before genitive. Exx. *undu* 'this' : *und-e-t-a* (Gen.)

5.8.2 *-n-*

This occurs between the genitive case and all bases denoting humun beings (i. e. all bases belonging to the non-neuter group) and those ending in the vowel *e* (Bhat 1967;84).

Nom.		Gen.
puruṣe	'husband'	*puruṣa-n-a*
o:ḍa:ri	'potter'	*o:ḍa:ri-n-a*
magaḷi	'daughter'	*magaḷ-n-a*
guru	'teacher'	*guru-n-a*
kudke	'fox'	*kudke-n-a*

-n- also occurs after the plural suffix and before genitive.

marleri	'madman'	*marler-n-a*
karaḍiḷu	'bears'	*karaḍiḷ-n-a*

After bases ending in *-e-* or *-ḷi*, *-n-* is optional.

	Nom.	Gen.
puruṣe	'husband'	*puruṣana* ~ *puruṣa*
magaḷi	'daughter'	*magaḷna* ~ *magaḷa*

According to Shankara Bhat (1967:86), *-n-* also occurs after the other increment *-e-* (which is preceded by a plural suffix) and before genitive case suffix.

pilikḷu	'tigers'	*pilikḷ-e-n-a*
a:kḷu	'they'	*a:kḷ-e-n-a*

5.8.3 *-a-*

This occurs between the demonstrative masculine singular pronouns (both proximate and remote) and dative case (Brigel, 1872:38).

Exx.	Nom.		Dat.
	imbe	'he' (Prox.)	*imby-a-gu̥*
	a:ye	'he' (Remote)	*a:y-a-gu̥*

5.8.4. *-e-*

It occurs after all plural suffixes *-kuḷu*, *-ḷu* or *-ru* and before all cases (Brigel, 1872:15, 19).

Exx.			
	marokuḷu 'trees'	*me:jiḷu* 'tables'	*kartaveru̥* 'lords'
	marokuḷ-e	*me.jiḷ-e*	*kartaver-e* (Gen.)
	marokuḷ-e-gu̥	*me:jiḷ-e-gu̥*	*kartaver-e-gu̥*(Dat.)
	marokuḷ-e-nu̥	*me:jiḷ-e-nu̥*	*kartaver-e-nu̥*(Acc.)
	marokuḷ-e-ḍu̥	*me:jiḷ-e-ḍu̥*	*kartaver-e-ḍu̥* (Loc.)

marokuḷ-e-ḍuḍu	*me:jiḷ-e-ḍuḍu*	*kartaver-e-ḍuḍu* (Abl.)
marokuḷ-e-ḍa	*me:jiḷ-e-ḍa*	*kartaver-e-ḍa* (Comp.)

5.9. Telugu

5.9.1. -*i*-

It occurs after demonstrative masculine pronouns, masculine singular nouns ending in -*ḍu* and -*n* and some neuter nouns (morphologically conditioned) ending in -*u* which is preceded by -*l*, -*r* or -*n*.

Exx:

va:nṟu 'that man'	*va:ni-*
tammuḍu 'younger brother'	*tammun-i-kin* (Dat.)
go:ru 'finger-nail'	*go:r-i-* (Obl.)
ka:lu 'leg'	*ka:l-i* "
ce:nu 'field'	*ce:n-i-* "
išere:n 'a person'	*išere:n-i-kin* (Dat.)

5.9.2. -*na*-/-*n*-

This occurs after singular nouns ending in -*mu* and -*bu* and masculine nouns and before case suffixes. -*na*- occurs before dative and -*n*- occurs before instrumental case suffix.

Exx:

gurra(m)mu 'horse' : *gurra(m)mu-na-ku* (Dat.)
kambu-na-ku 'to the farmer' (8th cent. Insc.)
gurra(m)mu-n-anda 'by the horse'
ra:cama:nambu-n-an 'by the royal measure' (8th cent. Insc.)

-na- is found as *-na:-* in the early inscriptions. *upaka:ra:m-bu-na:-ku* 'for the help' (10th cent.), *ka:rttike:yun-na:-ku* 'to Karthikeyan' (9th cent. Insc.)

5.9.3. *-ṭi-*

It occurs after the nouns ending in *-ḍu*, *-ru* (mostly developed from **-ṛu* and others due to analogy) preceded by long syllable or more than one syllable. Exx: *e:ru* 'river' *e:ṭi-* (Obl.), *gu:ḍu* 'nest' *gu:ṭi-* (Obl.), *nuduru* 'forehead' *nuduṭi-* (Obl.).

It also occurs after *-llu* (developed from **ḷḷu* and some others due to analogy) and *-nnu* (developed from **ṇṇu* and some others due to analogy) Exx: *mullu* <**muḷḷu* 'thorn' *muṇ-ṭi-* (Obl.); *kannu*<**kaṇṇu*) 'eye' *kaṇ-ṭi-* (Obl.); *minnu* 'sky' *miṇ-ṭi* (Obl.).

It is also found to occur after words denoting location.

Exx. *mi:da* 'abova' *mi:da-ṭi-* (obl.); *mundu* 'front' *munda-ṭi-*

It occurs after a few words of *yi* ending and some words ending in *-rru*.

nu:yi	'well'	:	*nu:ti-*	(obl)
ce:yi	'hand'	:	*ce:ti*	,,
arru	'neck'	:	*ari-ti-*	,,
korru	'spite'	:	*kori-ti-*	,,

5.9.4 *-i(ṇ)ṭi-*

This is found after numerals. Exx. *na:lugu* 'four' : *na:lug-i(ṇ)ṭi-* (Obl.); *ve:yi* 'thousand' : *ve:y-i (ṇ)ṭi-* (Obl.)

5.9.5. *-a-*

It occurs after the plural suffix *-lu*. Exx: *tammulu* 'younger brothers' : *tammul-a-ku* (Dat.) *gurramulu* 'horses' : *gurramul-a-* (Obl.).

5.10. Gondi

5.10.1 *-d-*

-d- occurs (i) after short monosyllabic nouns ending in *-ṛ*, *-y*, *-r* or *-v* (Subrahmanyam, 1968a:36)

Exx: *kaṛ-d-agga:* 'in the eye'; *kay-de:* 'in/with the hand' *kor-d-a:n* 'cock (Acc-Dat.); *kev-d-agga:* 'in the ear' *sari:-d-e∼sar-d-e:* 'in the way';

(ii) after monosyllabic nouns ending in *-n* or *-l* (the preceding vowel may either be short or long)

Exx. *man-d-e:* 'in the mind' *pe:n-d-agga:* 'near the god' *ka:l-d-e>ka:-d-e:* 'with the leg' *pa:l-d-e:→pa:-d-e:* in the milk';

(iii) and also after non-human disyllabic nouns ending in *-r* or *-l*. Exx. *kha:su:r-d-agga:>kha:su:-ṛ-agga:* 'in the cart'; *mollo:l-d-u:n> mollo:-ṛ-u:n* 'hare' (Acc.).

5.10.2 *-t-*

-t- occurs (i) after non-human nouns ending in a vowel and (ii) after the nouns ending in *-n*, *-r* or *-l*.

Exx. *ko:nda:-t-u:n* 'bull' (Acc.-Dat.) *toṛa:yi:-t-e:* 'in the tank' *ro:n-t-a:l >ro:-t-a:l* 'from the house' *e:r-te:>*

e:-ṭ-e: 'in the water' *veṛi:l-t-um* 'old man' (Acc) *na:r-t-e:* >*na:-ṭ-e:* 'in the village'

5.10.3. *-n-*

-n- occurs (*i*) after human nouns ending in a vowel and after the masculine nouns ending in *-a:l*.

mari:-n-∅ 'son' (Acc.); *saṛe:-n-a:* 'of the son-in-law'; *ba:yko:-n-∅* 'wife' (Acc.); *ka:ka:l-n-∅* >*ka:ka:-n-* 'father's younger brother' (Acc.).

After nouns with the non-masculine plural marker *-k* or *-∅* and before case suffixes other than the Acc.-Dat. *kaṛ-k-n-agga:* 'in the eyes' *boṭṭa:-∅-n-e* 'with the fingers'; after non-human nouns ending in consonants other than *-ṛ*, *-y*, *-r*, *-v*, *-l* and *-n*. *koro:p-n-agga:* 'in the butter milk' *me:nj-n-agga:* 'in the egg' and also after the singular demonstrative pronouns. Exx: *vo:r-n-∅* > *vo:n* 'he' (Acc.) *ad-n-∅* 'it' (Acc.).

Sandhi rules

1. $d \rightarrow ṛ \,/\, \left\{ \begin{matrix} r \\ l \end{matrix} \right\} \text{—}$

2. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} r \\ l \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow \emptyset \,/\, ṛ\text{-}$

3. $t \rightarrow ṭ \,/\, r\text{-}$

4. $r \rightarrow \emptyset \,/\, \text{-} \left\{ \begin{matrix} t \\ ṭ \end{matrix} \right\}$

5.11. Koya

5.11.1. *-d-*

It occurs mostly after monosyllabic (neuter) nouns ending in *-ḍ*, *-m*, *-y*, *-l* or *-v*. It also occurs after one disyllabic noun which has a monosyllabic alternant ending in *-r* (Subrahmanyam, 1968a.) *kanḍ-d-e* 'in the eye' *ta:ḍ-d-e* 'with the rope'; *pa:m-d-in* 'snake' (Acc.); *kay-d-e* 'in the hand'; *kor-d-in* 'cock' (Acc.); *pa:l-d-e* 'in the milk'; *kev-d-e* 'in the ear'.

5.11.2. *-t-*

It occurs (1) after non-human nouns ending in a vowel or *m*, *n*, or *s*; and also (2) after feminine and non-human nouns ending in *-ḍ*. *ko:nda-t-in* > *ko:ntin* 'bull' (Acc.); *eddi-t-e* > *eddi:te* 'in the sun'; *varse-t-in* > *varse:tin* 'squirrel' (Acc.); *e:r-t-e* > *e:tte* 'in the water'; *ojje:l-t-e* 'in the oven'; *madaya:ḍ-t-in* > *mayya:ṭin* 'daughter'; (Acc.) *verka:ḍ -t-in* > *verka ṭin* 'cat' (Acc)

5.11.3. *-n/-in-*

-n- occurs after masculine nouns ending in a vowel or the derivative suffix *-a:l* and also after feminine nouns ending in a vowel.

mari-n-Ø > *mari:n* 'of the son'; *ya:ya:l-n-Ø* > *ya:ya:n* 'father' (Acc.); *mutte-n-Ø* > *mutte:n* 'wife' (Acc.).

-in- elsewhere.

er:v-in-i 'in the tank'
gu:ḍ-in-i 'in the nest'

This is based on Subrahmanyam (1968a.)

1) *ko:nda* → *kon-*

2) $V \rightarrow V / - \begin{Bmatrix} t \\ n \end{Bmatrix}$

3) $t \rightarrow ṭ / ḍ -$

4) $ḍ \rightarrow \emptyset / - ṭ$

5) $\begin{Bmatrix} r \\ l \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / \bar{V}r - \begin{Bmatrix} t \\ n \end{Bmatrix}$

5.12. Konda

5.12.1. *-ti-/di-*

-ti- occurs after a consonant and *-di-* after a vowel before all case suffixes except *-an* (Abl. and Soc. case) where only *-t-/-d-* is added. Exx: *ayli* 'girl' : *ayli-di-* (Obl.); *nores* 'tiger' : *nores-ti-* (Obl.); *kuṛam* 'axe' : *kuṛam-t-an* 'with the axe'; *mara* 'tree' : **maram-t-an>mara-t-an* 'from the tree'

According to Krishnamurti (1969:250) *-ti-* occurs after a few stems in final *-m*. Exx: *du:ram* 'distance' : *du:ram-ti-* (Obl.) *de:sam* 'country' : *de:sam-ti-* (Obl.). But there are some other forms ending in *-m* which takes *-di-* as oblique formtive. Exx: *guṛam* 'horse' : *guṛam-di-* (Obl.) *a:ga:sam* 'sky' : *a:ga:sam-di-* (Obl.). Most of the adverbial nouns form their obliques by the addition of *-ti-*. Exx: *kaṇḍek* 'little' : *kaṇḍek-ti-* (Obl.); *ve:lam* 'two years back' : *ve:lam-ti-* (Obl.).

5.12.2. *-a-*

-a- occurs after the plural suffix *-k*.

ayli-k 'girls' : *aylika-* (Obl.); *nores-ku* 'tigers' : *noreska-* (Obl.).

5.12.3. *-i-*

Krishnamurti has noted the occurrence of *-i-* as an augment after masculine nouns ending in plural *-r* and demonstrative masculine singular and plural pronouns (1969:250). Exx: *anagir* 'elder brothers' : *anagir-i-* (Obl.) *bubar* 'parents' : *bubar-i-* (Obl.); *va:nṟu* 'that man' : *van-i* (Obl.) *va:ru* 'those-they' : *var-i-* (Obl.).

5.12.4. *-ani-*

-ani- can be recognised in demonstrative non-masculine pronouns. Exx: *adi: dani-* < **ad-ani* 'that woman, that thing' *idi: deni-* > **id-ani* 'this woman, this thing'.

5.13. **Kui**

5.13 1. *-n-/-ni-*

-n- (before consonant) and *-ni-* (before vowel) occur after feminine singular nouns and also after the plural suffix *-ska*.

Sg.	Pl.
aja 'mother'	*ajaska*
aja-n-gi (Dat.)	*ajaska-n-gi*
aja-ni-i (Acc)	*ajaska-ni-i*

-ni- also occurs between the plural suffix *-nga* and all the case suffixes.

Exx.	*mṛehenga* 'men'		*ko:ḍinga* 'cows'
	mṛehenga-ni-	Gen.	*ko:ḍi:nga-ni*
	mṛehenga-ni-i	Acc.	*ko:ḍinga-ni-i*
	mṛehenga-ni-ki	Dat.	*ko:ḍinga-ni-ki*

5.13.2. *-i-*

It occurs after the masculine plural suffix *-r* and masculine singlar suffix *-nju* which alternates with *-n-* in the oblique form.

a:baru 'fathers'		*neganju* 'a good man'
a:bar-i	Gen.	*negan-i*
a:bar-i-i	Acc.	*negan-i-i*
a:bar-i-ki	Dat.	*negan-i-ki*

5.13.3. *-tin-*

It occurs after the 'simple neuter nouns' (both sg. and pl.)and the verbal derivative nouns, and before the dative and accusative. In neuter appellative and participial nouns, it is used before dative only.

	Sg.	Pl.
	ko:ru-tin-i 'buffalo'	*ko:ṛka*
Acc.	*ko:ru-tin-i*	*ko:rka-tin-i*
Dat.	*ko:ru-tin-gi*	*ko:rka-tin-gi*

Verbal Derivatives

Sg.		Pl.
pangeṛi 'a plank'		*pangeṛaka*
pangeṛi-tin-i	(Acc.)	*pangeṛaka-tin-i*
pangeṛi-tin-i	(Dat.)	*pangeṛaka-tin-gi*

	negari 'a good thing' (appellative noun)	*va:nari* 'the thing that will come, (Participial Noun)
Sg. Dat.	*neara-tin-gi*	*va:nara-tin-gi*
Pl. Dat.	*negaa-tin-gi*	*va:naa-tin-gi*

5.13.4. *-aṛin-/-aṛini-*

-aṛin- (before consonant) and *-aṛini* (elsewhere) occur after singular demonstrative and definite interrogative feminine pronouns.

Exx.	*estari* 'which women'	*i:ri* 'she'
	est-aṛn-i (Gen.)	*i:r-aṛin-i*
	est-aṛini-i (Acc.)	*i:r-aṛini-i*
	est-aṛini-gi (Dat.)	*i:r-aṛin-gi*

5.13.5. *-aṛi-*

It occurs after neuter demonstrative pronouns is both numbers and before dative suffix only.

Exx: *i:ri* 'this thing', *i:r-aṛi-ki* (Dat.), *i:v-aṛi-ki* (Dat. pl.).

5.14. Kuvi

5.14.1. *-n-/-na-*

-na- occurs after feminine nouns ending in a vowel and before dative and *-n-* occurs before other cases. Exx: *aya* 'woman', *aya-na-ki* (Dat.), *aya-n-i* (Acc.), *aya-n-i* (Gen.).

5.14.2. *-ṇ-/-ṇa-*

-ṇa- occurs after *-y* ending feminine singular nouns and before dative and *-ṇ-* before other cases. *-ṇ-* also occurs

after the plural suffixes *-ṅa* and before accusative and in the neuterplural nouns before locative. Exx: *hanayi* 'she who goes' *hana-ṇa-ki* (Dat.), *hana-ṇ-i* (Acc. and Gen.), *mṛehaṅa* 'men', *mṛeha-ṇa-ṇi* (Acc.), *ayaska* 'women' *ayaska-ṇ-i* (Acc.) *hanasika* 'they who go'; *hana-sika-ṇ-i* (Acc.) *kaḍḍa-ṅa* 'rivers'; *kaḍḍa-ṅa-ṇ-a* (Loc); *kaḍḍaṅa-ṇ-i* (Acc.).

5.14.3. *-t-/-ta-*.

-ta- is used before dative and after all non-feminine nouns except the characterised singular masculine nouns. *-t-* occurs after neuter singular nouns and before non-dative cases. It also occurs after uncharacterised masculine nouns and before genitive.

Exx: *mṛeha* 'man'; *mṛeha-ta-ki*~*mṛeha-ki* (Dat.) *mṛeha-t-i* (Gen.); *kokara* 'boys' (char. N.); *kokara-ta-ki* ~*kokara-ki* (Dat.); *kaḍḍa* 'river'; *kaḍḍa-ta-ki* (Dat.); *kaḍḍ-t-i* (Acc. and Gen.); *kaḍḍa-t-a* (Loc.); *kaḍḍaṅa-ta-ki*~*koḍḍaṅa-ki* (Dat. Pl.).

5.14.4. -ʔ-

-ʔ- (glottal stop) occurs before accusative and after all masculine nouns except uncharacterised masculine plural.

Exx: *mṛeha* 'Man' (unchar): *mṛeha-ʔ-i* (Acc.), *kokaṇa-ʔ-i* 'boy' (Acc.), *kokara-ʔ-i* 'boys' (Acc.).

5.15. **Pengo**

5.15.1. *-t-*

It occurs (1) after monosyllabic neuter nouns ending in a voiced consonant and before all cases. Exx: *ma:l* 'garland';

ma:l-t-iṅ (Acc.); *ma:l-t-o* (Loc.); *ma:l-t-i* (Gen.); *ma:l-t-aṅ* (Inst -Abl.);

ii) after disyllabic neuter nouns and before all cases except genitive. These two groups are referred to as second paradigm by Burrow and Bhattacharya. Exx. *ḍoṅri* 'mountain', *ḍoṅri-t-iṅ* (Acc.); *ḍoṅri-t-o* (Loc.); *ḍoṅri-t-aṅ* (Inst. -Abl).

iii) after monosyllabic neuter plural nouns except ending in a unvoiced consonant in nasal plus stop and some others and before Inst.-Abl. case. This set is mentioned as first paradigm. Exx: *keyku-t-aṅ* 'hands' Inst. -Abl.

iv) after nouns like *na:z* 'village', *mar* 'tree', *ni:z* 'ashes' etc. and there are some sandhi changes both in the stems and the augment.

	na:z 'country'	*mar* 'tree'	*ni:z* 'ashes'
Acc.	*na:ṭ-iṅ*	*ma-t-iṅ*~ *martiṅ*	—
Loc.	*na:ṭ-o*	*ma-t-o*~ *marto*	*ni:c-o*
Gen.	*na:ṭ-i*	*ma-t-i*~ *marti*	—
Inst. Abl.	*na:ṭ-aṅ*	*ma-t-aṅ*~ *martaṅ*	—

and v) after some human nouns obligatorily and after some other nouns optionally. *hatan* 'old woman' : *hatan-t-iṅ* (Acc.-Dat.) *buḍiya* 'id' *buḍiya-t-iṅ*~*buḍiya-ṅ* (Acc.-Dat.); *rikar-t-i* 'of the two persons'.

5.15.2. *-d-*

It occurs in the singular form of the first paradigm.

key 'hand'		*ka:l* 'leg'
key-d-iṅ	Acc.	*ka:l-d-iṅ*
key-d-o	Loc.	*ka:l-d-o*
key-d-i	Gen.	*ka:l-d-i*
key-d-aṅ	Inst. -Abl.	*ka:l-d-aṅ*

5.15.3. *-n-*

This occurs in the plural nouns of the first paradigm and in the second paradigm (singular as well as plural) before genitive. Exx. *keyku-n-i* 'of the hands'; *ḍoṅriṅ-n-i* 'of the mountains'.

5.15.4. *-al-*

This occurs between the neuter singular demonstrative pronouns and accusative-dative.

edi	'this thing'	*ed-al-iṅ*
endan	"	*end-al-iṅ*

5.15.5. *-k-*

It occurs (i) in the plural forms of the first paradigm before Acc.-Dat. and locative. Exx: *keyku* 'hands', *keyku-k-aṅ* Acc. Dat., *keyku-k-aṅ* Loc. and (ii) in the plural form of the second paradigm before Acc.-Dat.

ḍoṅriṅ 'mountains'	:	*o:ḍaṅ* 'goats'
ḍoṅri-k-aṅ (Acc. Dat.)	:	*o:ḍa-k-aṅ*

$n \rightarrow \emptyset$ / *-kk*

There are some irregular forms in the plural oblique.

	ilku 'houses'	*pre:ku* 'bones'
Acc.: Dat.	*ilk-uṅ* ~ *ilk-aṅ*	*pre:k-uṅ* ~ *pre:k-aṅ*

These can be considered as having no augment. Historically, these may be due to haplology.

Human nouns also take the augment occasionally.

a:cku	'women'	*a:cku-k-aṅ*	Acc.-Dat.
co:rku	'thieves'	*co:rku-k-aṅ*~*co:rk-aṅ*	„

5.16. **Kolami**

5.16.1. *-ṭ-*

According to Emeneau (1961:61), there are four forms having this augment. Exx. *nal* 'day' : *naṭ-* (Obl.), *siḍ* 'day': *siṭ-* (Obl.), *ul* 'day' : *uṭ-* (Obl.), *ve:gaḍ* 'field': *ve:gaṭ-* (Obl.)

These are all explained morphophonemically as having the *-ṭ-* form (Ibid.).

5.17. **Naiki (Chanda)**

5.17.1. *-n-*

It occurs sometimes between the noun and the accusative case suffix. Exx. *to:lel* 'brother' : *to:lel-n-un* (Acc.); *ba:y* 'woman' : *ba:y-n-un* (Acc.).

5.17 2. *-t-*

-t- has been recognised as an augment in the locative by Bhattacharya (1961:90). Exx. *ki:-t-un* 'in the hand'; *sadum-t-un* 'in the river'.

The *-t-* of *-tun* is more likely an augment followed by the locative suffix *-n* (ibid: 13)

-ta is also used as genitive. Here also *-t-* may be an augment. Exx: *apaṛ-t-a* 'of the house'; *u:r-t-a* 'of the village' This *-t-* is sometimes found ,to be cerebralised as a result of sandhi. Exx: *ozgiṭ-ṭ-a* 'one day's' < *ozgir*; *oko-ṭ-a* 'yesterday's' < *okon*.

5.17.3. *-k-*

The locative post position *-kel* can also be considered to have an augment *-k-* and the locative suffix *-el*. Exx: *ane-k-el* 'towards me'; *apaṛe-k-el* 'towards the house'.

5.18. **Parji**

5.18.1. *-t-*

Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953:28) think that *-t-* is the augment which occurs before genitive and locative. Exx: *mer-t-o* 'of the tree'; *bolub-t-a* 'of the village'; *mer-t-i* 'in the tree'; *bolub-t-i* 'in the village'; *va:ya-t-el* 'in the fields'; *kond-t-el* 'in the mountainous region'; *kond-t-ar* 'from the mountain'; *key-t-ar* 'from the hand'; *ke:l-t-are* 'from the feet'.

5.18.2. *-k-*

The locative post position *-kel* is considered to have an augment *-k-* and the locative case suffix *-el* (Ibid:30). Exx: *cople-k-el* 'in the machan'; *va:ye-k-el* 'in the field'.

5.19. Gadaba (Ollari)

5.19.1. -ṭ-

It occurs in 'a few words' (Bhattacharya, 1957:21). Exx: *toru* 'rope' : *toru-ṭ-na:l* (Inst.); *karme* 'stick' : *karme-ṭ-na:l* (Inst.).

5.19.2. -t-

-t- as an augment is preserved only in one word and that too in the genitive form.

Exx.	*polup*	'village'	*polub-t-in*	(Gen.)
Cf.	*ko:nde*	'cow'	*ko:ndeṅ*	,,

Bhattacharya (1957:23) doubts that the locative suffixes *-tun* and *-tin* may consist of an augment *-t-* plus the real locative suffix *-un* and *-in* respectively. Exx. *ki:tin* 'in the hand', *polub-tun* 'in the village'.

5.20. Kurux

5.20.1. -i-/-in-

This occurs between non-masculine singular demonstrative pronoun and all cases except accusative. *-i-* occurs before dative, genitive and locative and it is in free-variation with *-in-* and *-Ø-* before ablative case. *-in-* occurs only before ablative.

Exx. *a:di-* 'that woman, that thing' *a:d-i-ge* (Dat.) *a:d-i-gahi* (Gen.) *a:d-i-nu* (Loc.) *a:d-i-ti:* (Abl.) *a:d-in-ti:* ~ *a:d-Ø-ti:* (Abl.)

According to Shankara Bhat (1965:233) *-i-/in-* does not occur before ablative case.

5.20.2. *-g-/-k-*

-g- is found after singular personal pronouns and reflexive pronouns and before all case suffixes, except locative and genitive.

Exx.	*e:n* 'I'	*ta:n* 'he, she, it'
	e:ṅ-g-an (Acc.)	*taṅ-g-an*
	e:ṅ-g-a:-ge (Dat.)	*taṅ-g-a:-ge*

-k- occurs between the interrogative pronouns and all case suffixes. Exx. *ne:* 'who', *ne:-k-an* (Acc.), *ne:-k-a:-ge* (Dat.), *ne:-k-hai* (Gen.), *ne:-k-nu* (Loc).

5.20.3. *-a:-*

It occurs between the plural personal pronouns and dative case. It also occurs after the another increment *-k-/-g-* and before dative.

Exx: *ni:m-a:-ge* 'to you' (pl.) *em-g-a:-ge* 'to me' *ne:-k-a:-ge* 'to whom' *taṅ-g-a:-ge* 'to him, her, it'.

5.21. Malto

5.21.1. *-i-*

-i- occurs after neuter nouns ending in *-n* and neuter interrogative pronoun, and before dative. It also occurs between all the case suffixes except accusative and demonstrative pronouns. Exx: *man-i-k* 'to the tree'; *indr-i-k* 'to what'; *a:th* 'that thing' *a:th-i-k* (Dat.) *a:th-i-(ki)* (Gen.)

a:th-i-no (Loc.); *a:r* 'they' (hum.) *a:r-i-k* (Dat.) *a:r-i-(ki)* (Gen.) *a:r-i-no* (Loc.).

5.21.2. *-g-/-k-*

-g- occurs after singular personal pronouns and reflexive pronouns and before all cases.

Exx:	*e:n*	'I'	*ta:ni* (reflexive pronoun)
	eṅ-g-en	(Acc.)	*taṅ-g-(-en)*
	eṅ-g-e	(Dat.)	*taṅ-g-e*
	eṅ-g-(ki)	(Gen.)	*taṅ-g-(ki)*
	eṅ ge eno	(Loc.)	*taṅ-g-eno*

-k- occurs between the interrogative human pronouns and all the case suffixes.

Exx. *ne:-k-en* 'who' (Acc.); *ne:-k-e* (Dat.); *ne:-k-(ki)* (Gen.); *ne:-k-eno* (Loc.).

5.22. **Brahui**

5.22.1. *-a-*

It occurs before genitive and conjunctive after monosyllabic nouns.

Exx.	*ba:*	'mouth'	*ma:r*	'son'
	ba:-a-na:	(Gen.)	*ma:r-a-na:*	
	ba:-a-to	(Conj.)	*ma:r-a-to*	

it also occurs optionally before the nouns ending in a stop.

gidisp-a-na:~gidisp-na: 'of the span'

kapot-a-to~kapotto 'with the pigeon'

5.22.2. *-e-*

-e- occurs after all personal pronouns except second person plural and before ablative, instrumental and locative cases.

It also occurs between the plural suffix and all the cases except genitive, accusative and dative.

nan 'we'	*nan-e-a:n* (Abl.)	*nan-e-aṭ* (Inst.)	
nan-e:-ṭi: / *nan-e-a:i*	(Loc.)		
i:lumna:k	'brothers'	*kh̲ara:sk*	'bulls'
i:lumna t-e-aṭ	Inst.	*khara:st-e-aṭ*	
i:lumna:t-e-to	Conj.	*kh̲ara:st-e-to*	
i:lumna:t-e:-ṭi:	Loc.	*kh̲ara:st-e:-ṭi:* / *kh̲ara:st-e-a:i*	
i:lumna:t-e-a:n	Abl.	*kh̲ara:st-e-a:n*	

But in Jhalawan dialect (Bray; 1909:45) *-e-* is not found to occur before ablative and locative Exx: *kh̲ara:st-a:n* (Abl.) *kh̲ara:st-a:i* (Loc.).

5.22.3. *-gh-*

In the case of nouns, other than monosyllables ending in *-a-*/*-a:-*, *gh̲ain* may be optionally inserted before the ablative suffix *-a:n* and the locative suffix *-a:i* (P.44). But it is really *-gh-* only.

lumma-gh-a:n∼*lumma-a:n* 'from the mother'
lumma-gh-a:i∼*lumma-a:i* 'on the mother'
ura:-gh-a:n∼*ura:-a:n* 'from the house'
ura:-gh-a:i∼*ura:-a:i* 'on the house'

II. COMPARATIVE STUDY

Among the various suffixes used as the inflectional increments, **-an-*, **-in-*, **-a-*, **-(a)ṯṯ-*, **-tt-* and **-k-* can be reconstructed to the Proto-Dravidian.

5.23. Common Dravidian

5.23.1. **-an-*

This occurs after the demonstrative and interrogative neuter singular pronouns. The proximate neuter singular demonstrative pronoun is taken for illustration and its nominative and oblique forms are given below (*DED* 351).

	Nom.	Obl.
Ta.	*itu*	*itaṉ-*
Ma.	*itu*	*itan-, itin*
Ko.	*id*	*idn-* (except before Acc.)
To.	*iθ*	*in-*
Koḍ.	*idī*	*idīn-*
Ka.	*idu*	*idaṟ-, idar-*
Bad.	*idu*	*idun-* (-Gen., Acc.)
Tu.	*indu*	*inde-*
Te.	*idi*	*di:ni-*
Go.	*e:l*	*te:n-*
(Adil.)	*id*	
Koya	*id, iddu*	*di:n-, di:ni-*
Konḍa	*ve:d, va:d, idi*	*deni-*
Kui	*i:ri, id*	*i:raṟi-* (Dat.)
		i:ra (Gen., Acc.)
		i:ra- (Abl.)

Nom.		Obl.
Kuvi	*i:di*	—
Pe.	*idi, idañ*	*idal-* (-Acc.,-Dat.)
Kol.	*id*	*id-*
Nk.(Ch.)	*id*	*id-*
Pa.	*id*	*id-*
Ga.	*id*	*id-*
Kur.	*i:d*	*i:din* (-Abl.)
		i:di (except before Acc.)
Malt.	*i:th*	*i:thi-* "
Br.	*i:-*	—
PDr.	**itu*	**itan-*

i(n) in some languages like Malayalam, Koḍagu, Kuṛux and Malto may not be due to sound change but only due to the analogical extension of the augment *-in-* (see § 5.23.2). It should be noted that *-iṉ-* is also found in Middle Tamil.

The non-occurrence of this increment before accusative may be due to haplology (**idanan* > **idan* > *idn*) in Pre-Kota period. The same change should have taken place either independently in Kuṛ. and Malt. or in PNDr.

-e found in Tulu may be the reflex **-an* as the same change is found in the masculine suffix (see § 2, P. 144) also.

Telugu, Gondi, Koya and Konḍa have undergone metathesis and the vowel change.

**idani-* > **diani* > *di:ni* in Te., Koya
> *deni* in Konḍa

**idan-* > **dian* > *te:n* in Go.

The absence of this increment in Kol.-Pa. group should be attributed to the common innovation (i.e., loss) in Pre Kol.-Pa. period.

**-an-* occurs also after the numerals and its reflexes are as follows:

Ta.	*-aṉ-*	(in OTa.)
	-iṉ-	(in MOTa.)
Ma.	*-in-*	
Ko.	*-n-*	
Koḍ	*-a:n-*	
Ka.	*-ar-*, *aṟ*	(except before Acc.)
Te.	*-iṇṭi-*	

Kui has *-a* in the first two numerals before accusative.

	One	Two
Nom.	*ronḍe*	*ri:nḍe*
Acc.	*ronḍa*	*ri:nḍa*

The accusative suffix in other forms is *-i* which is added to the genitive form (*aja* 'mother' : *ajani* (Gen.); *ajanii* (Acc.). Therefore the final *-a* here cannot be considered as an accusative suffix but as the part of the genitive suffix and the accusative suffix is -∅ here. Note that the accusative case suffix is often omitted and it is inferred from the context in the neuter nouns (Winfield, 1928:27). So, Kui seems to have evidence for the increment **-an-* after numeral and atleast before accusative.

As in the case of demonstrative pronouns, **-an-* was replaced by *-iṉ-* in MOTa., Ma., and Te. Additionally,

Telugu has added another formative *-ti*, **in+ti* > **inṯi* > *inṭi*. For the development of Kannada *-aṟ-*, see § 5.23.4.

Tamil and Kannada have evidence for the occurrence of this increment after the neuter singular participial nouns. Ta. *vantatu* 'that which came': *vantataṉ-* (Obl.), Ka. *bandudu* 'id' : *bandudaṟ-* (except before Acc.).

5.23.2. **-in-*

This increment occurs after neuter nouns ending in a vowel (mostly *-a:*, *-u*, *-u:* and *-o:*) and after all consonantal endings except *-m* and *-n* (mostly in closed short monosyllabic words) in Ta., Ma. and Ka. In Telugu, *-i-* occurs after the singular nouns ending in consonants other than *-m*. Gondi and Koya have *-i-*/ *-ni-*/ *-n-* after non-neuter nouns. Pengo employs *-n-* only before genitive.

Ko.-Pa. group seems to have for the occurrence of this increment before the dative and instrumental. The dative suffix in these languages is of (V) C pattern. C occurs after a vowel and VC elsewhere: Kol. *uṅ/ṅ*, Nk (Ch.) *un/n* Pa., *uṅ/ṅ* (southern dialect), and Ga. *un/n*. Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953:22) have explained that all the dative forms can be accounted by taking **-uṅg/ṅg* as the original not only in Parji but also in Kolami-Naiki. The still earlier form may be **ung* and **-g* is the real dative suffix (for detail see § 6.23.4). Assimilation of *n* into *ṅ* before *g*, the disappearance of -*g* and the loss of vowel before another vowel should have taken place in Pre Kol.-Pa period. **ṅ* > *n* must be an independent innovation in Nk. (Ch.) and Ga.

Similarly the instrumental is *aḍ naḍ* in Kolami and *oḍlnoḍ* in Parji. Moreover, Parji has *-inoḍ* after some words ending in a consonant. Exx. *key-inoḍ* 'with the hand' *nu:l-inoḍ* 'with the thread' etc. Here also, *-in-* can be taken as inflectional increment and *-oḍ* alone as the case suffix. In the same way, the instrumental suffix *-na:l* in Gadaba can be interpreted as *n*, the increment plus *a:l* the instrumental suffix.

Malto has *-i-* before the dative case. The genitive suffix *-na:* in Brahui can be taken as *n*, the increment and *-a:* the genitive suffix.

In most of the languages, **-in-* is obligatory only before dative and optional before other case suffixes. Later on, it became obligatory before other case suffixes and hence it is not uniformally found.

Kannada has *-in-/-i-* after masculine nouns and before dative from 7th century and after demonstrative masculine pronoun from 13th century inscriptions. Telugu uses *-i-* from 10th century in the inscriptional records. Konḍa and Kui employ *-i-* after the masculine singular and plural nouns.

As already noted in § 5.1.3, Tamil has some examples where the increment *-in̠-* occurs before the case suffix *-in̠*. So also in literary Malayalam (Exx. *poḻut-in-il* in time' *-il* is the reflex of **in*) and in Kannada (Exx. *imb-in-in* 'with sweetness'–7th cent Insc , *oḷp-in-im* 'with distinction 10th cent. Insc.) This may be a convergent devolopment.

*-in- is absent after the nouns ending in front vowels in most of the languages But Tamil (*kali-y-iṟ-ku* < **kali-y-iṉ-kku* 'to the Kali metre'- Tol. 1316 ~ *kali-kku* 'id' Tol. 1312, *kulai-y-iṉ-ai* 'bunch' (Acc) Kal. 45.2, *ve:ṅkai-y-ai* 'tiger' (Acc.) Ibid. 49.6) and Malayalam (*ile:kai y-in-al* 'line (Inst.)' -11th cent. Insc. *ceykai-y-a:l* 'action (Inst.)-11th cent. Insc.) have used optionally this increment. This may be a common innovation in Pre-Ta.-Ma. period.

The addition of -*i* after words like *mra:nu* 'tree', *kola:nu* 'tank' etc. in Telugu. Malto has -*i* after the word *man* 'tree' before dative. Eventhough the word for tree, with the shape **maram* takes the increment *-*tt*- (see, § 5.23.5), *maran* takes only -*i*- < *-*in*- before dative. In Tamil, the nouns ending in -*ṉ* do have -*iṉ*- only. But, it is not clear whether *-*in*- occurring after **maran* 'tree' is a PDr. feature or a parallel development.

A nasal is added as an augment after plural suffix in Gondi, Kui, Kuvi and Pengo.

Go.	*n* (Gen., Loc., Inst.)
Kui	*ni* (Acc., Dat.)
Kuvi	*ṇ* (Acc., Dat.)
Pe.	*n* (Ge.)

Since this is not uniform, it is doubtful whether it is a parallel development. However, it should be connected with the increment *-*in*- after singular nouns.

The addition of *-*in*- after the augments *-*tt*- and *-*ṯṯ*- (i.e., -*ṟṟ*-) and before dative is a common innovation in

Pre-Ta.-Ma period. Exx. **avarṟiṟku* 'to them' (neu.) < *avaṟṟ-iṉ-kku*; **na:ṭṭ-iṟku* 'to the country' < **na:ṭṭiṉ-kku*.

5.23.3. **-a-*

Tamil, Malayalam, and Kannada have *-a-* in the personal pronouns before dative. Telugu has *-a* before dative in the first person inclusive pronoun and reflexive pronoun. As already explained in § 4.1, Telugu, Gondi. Koṇḍa, and Kui have *-a* in Pre- Te.-Go.-Koṇḍa-Kui period but it is not apparent because of the metathesis and the contraction of the vowels. Kuṛux has *-a-* before dative in the personal pronouns and so, **-a-* can be reconstucted between the dative and the personal pronouns to the PDr.

The loss of this augment in Kota and Toda may be due to the general tendency of those languages to lose the vowel of the second syllable. Koḍagu has *na:ku* 'to you' and *ta:ku* 'to oneself' may be due to the loss of the medial *-n-* and the vowel contraction (**nanakku* > **naaku* > *na:ku*). The plural forms in Koḍagu are *naṅkī* 'to us', *niṅkī* 'to you' (pl.). Since the plural forms are *naṅga* < **nankaḷ* 'we' *niṅga* > **nin-kaḷ* 'you' (pl.) respectively. The dative form may be due to haplology. **naṅgakī* > *nankī*, *ningakī* > *ninkī*. As the plural forms occur with double plural suffix (**nam-kaḷ*, **nim-kaḷ*), *-a-* is not found in Koḍagu. The loss of this increment in Tulu is an independent innovation in that language. As already noted in § 4.1 and § 4.3., Tamil has also forms with the inflectional increment in OTa. Exx. *eṟku* (**eṉ-kku*) 'to me' (Kal. 86.29, Par 20.81); *niṟku* (**nin-kku*) 'to you' (Maṇ. 10.13). The reason for this change is not clear.

*-*a*- occurs also after the neuter plural suffixes in Tulu, Telugu, Koṇḍa and Brahui. Tulu uses -*e* after all the neuter plural suffixes and before all case suffixes. This -*e* can be explained as developed from **a* by the following change in the Pre Tulu period. **a* → *e*/ -*ḷ*. Koṇḍa uses -*a*- only after the plural suffix -*k*. Brahui employs -*e* before ablative, instrumental, conjunctive and locative. But it can be assumed to have existed before all case suffixes and to have undergone the following innovation in Pre-Brahui period.

$$V_1 \rightarrow \bar{V}_1 \,/\, - \, VCV$$

$$V_2 \rightarrow \emptyset \,/\, - \begin{Bmatrix} CV \\ V\# \end{Bmatrix}$$

Eventhough it is considered generally as occurring before all the case suffixes, it does not seem to be true from the histroical point of view. All the case suffixes except the dative begin with a vowel and so, -*a*- can be considered as part of the case suffixes historically. As the dative alone has the consontal beginning, *-*a*- might have been added before dative and after plural suffixes.

5.23.4 *-(*a*) *ṯṯ*-

This is used after neuter plural demonstrative and interrogative pronouns in the PDr. The following are the remote demonstrative neuter plural forms taken for illustration (DED. 1)

	Nom.	Obl.
Ta.	*av, avai*	*avaṟṟiṉ*- (-Dat.)
		avaṟṟ-

	Nom.	Obl.
Ma.	*avai*	*avaṟṟiṉ-* (-Dat.)
		avaiyiṟṟiṉ-
		avaṟṟ-
		avaiyiṟṉ-
Ko.	*ad*	*ad-*
To.	*aθa:m*	—
Koḍ.	*adī*	*adīn-*
Ka.	*avu*	*avaṟ-/*
		avar- (except before Acc.)
Tu.	*avu*	*ai-* (DED)
		ei- (Brigel)
Te.	*avi*	*va:ni-* (OTe.)
		va:ṭi- (MTe. & NTe.)
Go.	*au*, (DED)	
	av (Subrahmanyam)	*avve:k-*
Koya	*avvu* (Tyler)	*va:ni-*
		va:ṇṭi-
Kui	*a:vi*	*avaṛi* (Dat.)
		a:va- (-Abl.)
		a:va (Gen., Acc.)
Kuvi	*a:ati*	—
Pe.	*avan*	*avk-*
Kol.	*adav*	*adav-*, *adaval-*
Nk (Ch.)	*anda*	*anda-*
Pa.	*av*	*av-*
Ga.	*av*	*av-*
Kur.	*abṛa:*	*abṛa:-* (-Dat., Gen.)
		abṛan-
Malt.	*a:th*	*a:thi-*

Br.	*e:fk*	*e:fte–*
PDr.	**av*	
	**avay*	**avaṯṯ-*

The reconstruction of **av* and **avay* 'those things' to PDr. can explain the forms found in many languages. Of these, **av* seems to be older than **avay*. In languages like Kota, Koḍagu and Malto, the singular form is also used to express the plural. Note that there is no singular–plural contrast in the finite verb also (§ 1.1.). The plural suffix occurring in the nouns is added to the demonstrative pronouns in Toda, Kolami and Brahui. The same tendency is found in Modern colloquial Tamil also (*aduo* 'they' < **adukaḷ*).

**avaṯṯ-* can be reconstructed to explain the forms in most of the languages. MTe. *va:ṭi–* is the direct reflex of **avaṯṯ–* and it is nothing but metathesised form of the PDr. **avaṯṯ-* > **vaaṯṯ* > **va:ṯ–* > *va:ṭi-*. **ṯṯ* > *ṭ* before long vowel is a regular change in Telugu (Exx. **ya:ṯṯ-* > *e:ṭ-*) in Telugu (Emeneau, 1970a:75). *va:ni–* should be due to the analogy of the oblique form of the neuter singular demonstrative pronoun.

adi	sg.	*da:ni*	< **adani*
avi	pl.	?	*va:ṭi* < **avaṯṯ-*

Since *va:ni–* is found in OTe., this change should have taken place as a dialectal change in Pre-Telugu period.

Kannada *-aṟ-* is connected to **–aṟṟ-* (**aṯṯ*) of other languages, as already suggested by Ramaswami Ayyer. But the same increment is also used after neuter singular demonstrative and interrogative pronouns as well as after the

numerals. This may also be due to the analogical change on the model of the plural (Note in Telugu, the increment for singular has influenced the plural form). The replacement of geminated *-ṟṟ-* by single *-ṟ-* represents a common tendency in Kannada. Exx. **enakku* 'to me' > Ka. *enag-e*; **ninakku* 'to you' > Ka. *ninag-e* etc. The absence of the increment before accusative may be explained as follows: The increment **-an-* in the singular should have been lost due to the haplology and so *-aṟ-* was not added to the singular when it replaced by **-an*. Later on, it should be extended to the plural.

Kuṛux has *abṛa:* both in the nominative and oblique. The nominative form seems to have developed from the oblique form but the phonetic development of the form is not clear.

In languages like Kolami, Naiki (Chanda) Parji and Gadaba, the nominative form itself is used as the oblique form. The loss of this increment is a common innovation in Proto Kol.-Pa. stage. In Brahui, like all other plural nouns, *-e-* is used inflectional increment even in the demonstrative pronoun.

-ṟṟ- is also found after the word *ella:* 'all things' in NMa. and Ka. The oblique form is *ella:tt-* in Modern colloquial Tamil[7] and it indicates that *-ṟṟ-* might have been used in Pre-Modern Tamil also. But Tamil and Malayalam use *-aṟṟ-* (i e. *ella:vaṟṟ-*) in Old literature. Kota and Koḍagu do not have any augment in this word. **-ṟṟ-* may be older

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[7] The first recorded evidence for *ella:tt-* is found in 18th century (Beschi, 1813:29)

after *ella:m* 'all things' and it can be reconstructed to Proto Ta.-Ma.-Ko.-To.-Koḍ.-Ka. period.

-aṟṟ- also occurs after *pala* 'many', *cila* 'few' in literary Tamil. Malayalam has both *-aṟṟ-* and *-ṟṟ-* and Kannada *-ṟṟ-* only. Here also **-ṟṟ-* can be considered as original.

5.23.5. **-tt-*

This occurs after the neuter nouns ending in **-m* in PDr. Note the occurrence of the oblique form for **maram* 'tree' (3856) in many languages.

	Nom.	Obl.
Ta.	*maram*	*maratt-* (except before Soc. in OTa.)
Ma.	*maram*	*maratt-*
Ko.	*marm*	*mart-*
To.	*me:ṉ*	*me:ṉt-*
Koḍ.	*mara*	*mart-* (except before Dat.)
Ka.	*mara*	*marad-*(-Gen., Inst.& Loc.)
Bad.	*mara*	*marad-*
Tu.	*mara*	*marat-* (-Gen.) *mratti* (Abl.)
Te.	*mra:nu*	*mra:ni-*
Go.	*mara:*	*marat-*
Koya	*mara*	*mart-*
Koṇḍa	*maran*	*marati* (Gen.) *marandi-*
Kui	*mrahnu*	*mrahnutin-* (Dat., Acc.)
Kuvi	*mara:nu*, *marnu*	*marnuti* (Gen.)

	Nom.	Obl.
Pe.	*mar*	*mat-*, *merti*
Kol.	*ma:k*	*ma:k-*
Pa.	*meri*	*merto* (Gen.) *merti* (Loc.)
Ga.	*mar*, *marin*	*marṭe* (Gen.) *marṭun* (Abl.) *marṭin* (Loc.)
Kur.	*mann*	—
Malt.	*manu*	*mani-* (-Dat.)
PDr.	**maram*	**maratt-* < **maram-tt*

The restricted use of the oblique base with the increment and no uniformity even within a subgroup suggest the later development of the oblique base before many case suffixes. What is more common in many languages is the employment of the oblique base before genitive and in some languages the oblique base itself, used as genitive. Therefore it would be better to reconstruct **maratt-* before genitive to the PDr. and explain the occurrences of the oblique before other case suffixes as later developments. In almost all the Dravidian languages, the oblique form of the personal pronouns and the inflectional base of the nouns can be used as genitive. Therefore, it is nothing new in the use of **maratt-* as the genitive in some languages.

Among the SDr. languages, the oblique base is used progressively and the use of the oblique base additionally before a case can be taken as the common innovation within a subgroup. In the languages except Tulu, the oblique

base is used before genitive, instrumental and locative while in Tulu, it is only before genitive. Therefore the extension of the oblique base before locative and instrumental should have taken place after the separation of Tulu, i. e., in Pre-Ta.-Ma.-Ko.-To.-Koḍ-Ka. period. In the same way the use before accusative should be a common innovation in Pre-Ta.-Ma.-Ko.-Koḍ. period (after the separation of Ka.) and additionally before dative in Pre.-Ta.-Ma.-Ko.-To. period (after the separation of Koḍagu). It is to be pointed out here that in OTa. in some words (§ 5.1.4) and Kota (§ 5.3.1), there are some nouns ending in *-m* without the increment before dative.

The optional use of **-tt-* before the sociative *-oṭu* is a common feature in Ta., Ma. and Kota. But Tamil has regularised completely the oblique base from MTa. onwards and Malayalam even from OMa. with a few exception.

Some of the CDr. languages show some special development in the use of this oblique base. Gondi, Koṇḍa, Pengo use the oblique base before all case suffixes. But its significance is not elear since the genetic relationship of these languages is not known now. The use of this oblique base before locative (the locative suffix is **-i<u>n</u>*. See the next chapter) is a common innovation in Parji and Gadaba.

-k- found in Kolami in the nominative as well as in the oblique is part of the plural suffix and this is due to the recutting. This is clear when the plural forms of other related languages are compared. Kol. *ma:k-ul* 'trees'; Pa. *mer-kul* 'id' Ga. *mar-kil* 'id'

The long monosyllabic words ending in *-ṭu*, *-ṟu* have this increment in SDr. and CDr.

Nom.	Obl.	
**na:ṭu* 'country' (3012)	*na:ṭṭ-*	Ta., Ma., Ko., To., Te., Go., Koṇḍa, Koya, Kui, Kuvi and Pe.
**ka:ṭu* 'forest' (1201)	*ka:ṭṭ-*	Ta., Ma., Ko., To., Te., and Kol.[8]
**ya:ṯu* 'river' (4233)	**ya:ṯṯ-*	Ta., Ko., Te., Gondi, Koṇḍa and Kuvi
**a:ṯu* 'way' (347)	**a:ṯṯ-*	Ta., Ko, and To.

The oblique forms are explained as **na:ṭ-tt* > **na:ṭṭ-*, **ya:ṯ-tt* > **ya:ṯṯ-* etc. (Kumaraswami Raja, 1969:84).

The complete loss of this increment in Koḍ., Ka. and Tu. may be an areal development. It is also absent in Kol.-Pa. subgroup within CDr. and also in NDr.

In CDr. languages, many other nouns take this increment and this seems to be a common innovation in PCDr. For instance, the word **kay* 'hand' (1683) has the oblique base **kay-tt-* in many CDr. languages.

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8 Kol. *ve:gaḍ* 'field' and *ve:gaṭ* (Obl.) are related to *vayaṟka:ṭu* (noun) 'tract of wet lands, paddy field' and *vayaṟka:ṭṭ-* (Obl.) respectively. So, Kolami has preserved the word *ka:ṭ(u)* (Nom.) and *ka:ṭṭ-* (Obl.) only in this compound.

	Nom.	Obl.
Te.	*ce:yi*	*ce:ti-*
Go.	*kay*	*kayd-*
Koya	*kay*	*kayd-*
Pe.	*key*	*keyd-*
Nk.(Ch.)	*ki:*	*ki:tun* (Loc.)
Pa.	*key*	*keyti* (Loc.) *keytar* (Abl.-Loc.)
Ga.	*ki*	*kitin* (Loc.)
	**kay*	**kay-tt-*

Eventhough the word **il* 'house' (420) is found in SDr. and many CDr. languages, the oblique form **inṯ-* is found in Te., Koṇḍa, Kui, Kuvi and Pengo which form a subgroup within CDr. and so it can be reconstructed to Proto-Te.-Koṇḍa-Kui-Kuvi and Pe. group.

Te.	*illu*	*iṇṭi-*
Koṇḍa	*il*	*inḍr(o)-*
Kui	*iḍu*	*ijo-*
Kuvi	*il*	*ijo-*
Pe.	*il*	*inj-*
	**il*	**inṯ-*

Here the appearance of the nasal is curious and there is no explanation at hand for this.

Telugu and Gondi have the increment *-tt-* after *kaṇ* 'eye' **kaṇṯ-* (937b) < **kaṇ-tt-*.

5.23.6. *-*k*-

-*k*- found in Kuṛux and Malto after singular personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns and interrogative human pronoun has been explained as dative case in origin. But in some languages -*k*- occurs optionally before locative suffixes and this can be considered as an increment.

Ma.	*kal*
Ka.	*al*
Nk. (Ch.)	*kel*
Pa.	*el, kel*
Br.	*a:n, gha:n*
Ta.	*aṉ, kaṉ*
Pa.	*ka*

Here *-*k*- can be considered as an increment.

VI

CASES

1. INTRODUCTION

There are eight cases, viz., nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative and vocative according to the native grammarians of Tamil (Tol. 546, 547 and Nannu:l 290), Malayalam (Li:la:tilakam, S. 22), Kannada (SMD. 103) and Telugu (Ba:la vya:karaṇamu 5.1). The vocative was given only secondary importance by most of the native grammarians. It seems from the commentary of Tolka:ppiyam that there was a school of thought favouring the instrumental and the sociative as two different cases. But, ce:ṉa:varaiyar, the commentator of Tolka:ppiyam (14th cent.) has refuted the idea on two grounds, viz., (1) the suffixes for the instrumental *(a:l)* and the sociative *(o:ṭu)* are in free variation mostly and (2) these two cases are not considered separate in Sanskrit. In modern times, Caldwell (1856) has strongly argued for considering sociative as a case different from the instrument: "the Dravidian social ablative as some have called it, or rather, as it should be termed, the conjunctive case, though it takes an important position in the Dravidian languages has been omitted in each dialect from the list of cases or added on to the

instrumental case, simply because Sanskrit knows nothing of it as a separate from the instrumental. The conjunctive or social, stands in greater need of a place of its own in the list of cases in these languages than in Sanskrit, seeing that in these it has several case-sings of its own while in Sanskrit it has none" (1956:278). However, in Old Tamil (See sentences 18, 19), the same suffix can be employed to denote both the instrumental and the sociative. Therefore, Subrahmanya Sastri (1945:76, 83) has not accepted the contention of Caldwell. It is also true that there are a few other languages like Kota (155, 156c) Parji (446, 447) and Gadaba (480, 481) which have the common suffix for these two cases. However their contrast and their different syntactical behaviour warrant us to consider them as separate cases.

Ta. *avaṉ eṉṉa:l paṭitta:ṉ* 'he studied because of me'
avaṉ eṉṉo:ṭu paṭitta:ṉ 'he studied with me'

Ma. *avan enna:l (ña:n ka:raṇam) paḍiccu* 'he studied because of me'
avan enno:ta ku:ṭa paḍiccu 'he studied with me'

Ko. *u:n enka:ṛy o:či:ko* 'he went because of me'
u:n eno:ṛ o:či:ko 'he came (lit. went) with me'

To. *aθ enna:l kasṯpini* 'he studied because of me'
oθ enpoḍy kasṯpini 'he studied with me'

Ka. *avanu nanninda kalita(nu)* 'he studied because of me'
avanu nannoḍane kalita(nu) 'he studied with me'

The instrumental case can occur in the passive construction.

Ta. *emma:l viyakkappaṭumo:r* 'One (hon.) who was wondered by us' Puṟ. 197.

Ma. *ra:vaṇan ra:ma:na:l kollappaṭṭu* 'Ravana was killed by Rama'

Ka. *pa:rvan-in arasan gra:mamam be:ḍalpaṭam* 'the king was begged by a brahmin a village' (SMD. S. 123)

Te. *ra:vaṇuḍu ra:munice:n čampanbaḍennu* 'Ravana was killed by Rama'

But the sociative case cannot occur in the passive construction. The sociative case can be paraphrased with the conjunctive *-um*.

Ta. *taḷavamoṭu mullai paṟittu* 'having plucked the mullai flower with taḷavam (Kal. 108.42) can be paraphrased as *taḷavum mullaiyum paṟittu* 'having plucked the mullai and taḷavan flowers'

Ma. *ra:mano:ḍu(ku:ḍe) si:te vannu* 'Sita came with Rama' = *ra:manum si:teyum vannu*

Ka. *ra:manoḍane si:te bandaḷu* 'Sita came with Rama' = *ra:manu: si:te:yu: bandaru*

Te. *si:ta ra:muni-to:n vaccenu* = *si:tayu ra:muḍunu vacciri* '*id*'

There are other syntactical differences between the instrumental and the sociative. Therefore they should be considered as two different cases.

According to Caldwell, the ablative of motion need not be taken as a distinct case, because 'the ablative is a variety of

locative and instrumental suffixes which are capable of becoming ablatives by the addition of appropriate verbs' (Ibid: 284). He has expressed his doubt whether the ablative has any case-suffix which belongs exclusively to that. But in Tamil (60, 61), Badaga (245), Tulu (271), Parji (472), Kuṛux (509) and Brahui (556), the ablative denotes the comparative sense. So. it cannot be considered as part of the locative. Moreover, the ablative and the locative contrast after the nouns of times.

Ta. *tai ma:tattil maḻai peyya:tu* 'It will not rain in the month of Tai' (Loc.)

tai ma:tattiliruntu maḻai peyya:tu 'it will not rain from the month of Tai' (Abl.)

Ma. *me:ṭa ma:sattil maḻa peyyum* 'it will rain in the month of me:ṭa'

me:ṭa ma:sattilninnu maḻa peyyum 'it will rain from the month of me:ṭa'

Ko. *pematyk may vakuko* 'the rain will come in the month of pematy' (*-ku* used in the loc. sense)

pematyo:ṛ may vakuko: 'the rain will not come from the month of pematy'

To. *ku:ṭls maw uẓi* 'it rained in the month of ku:ṭ' (Loc.)

ku:ṭlniḏ maw uẓi it rained from the month of ku:ṭ' (Abl.)

Ka. *be:sage tiṅgaḷalli maḷe baruttade* 'it will rain in the month of be:sage'

be:sage tiṅgaḷinda maḷe baruttade 'it will rain from the month of be:sage'

Te. *śra:vaṇa ma:samulo: varṣamu kuriyunnu* 'it will rain in the month of śra:vaṇa'

śra:vaṇa ma:samunuṇḍi varṣamu kuriyunnu 'it will rain from the month of śra:vaṇa'

Konḍa *aya samasaramaṇḍ piṟu pa:listad* 'from that year on, it continued to rain'

The example for the locative contrasting with the ablative in Konḍa is not found in Krishnamurthi (1969). Since the examples are taken from modern languages, the locative and the ablative suffixes are different. The ablative case with time nouns can co-occur with all the verbs in that language. This seems to be an universal feature.

There is another difference in Old Tamil between these cases, where the same suffix *-iṉ/-il* is used for both. *-iṉ/-il* as the locative suffix cannot occur with the human nouns and the pronouns (**avaṉ-iṉ* 'in him') where as *-iṉ /-il* as the ablative suffix (in the comparative sense) can occur with all the nouns and pronouns (*avaṉ-iṉ* 'than him'). So, it is clear that the ablative case has to be recognised as a separate case in Dravidian.

Ramaswami Ayyer (1936:14) has set up directive as a separate case different from the dative, probably because it has some other suffixes like *-inu, -ile:kku, peṭṭu* (post-position) etc., in addition to the regular dative suffix *-ku*. The directive meaning is found only when the nouns with those suffixes co-occur with the verb of movements, with which

the dative cannot occur. So, the dative and the directive are in complementation.

The purposive case different from the dative has been set up by Agesthialingom (1967:4) because the purposive and the dative are expressed by different suffixes in Modern Tamil. Badaga, Telugu, Kolami etc. (see for details, § 6.23.4) have separate marker for the purposive. As Agesthialingom has himself noted that OTa. (as well as many other languages) used the dative suffix for the purposive also. In most of the instances, the purposive and the dative are in complementation. For instance, when the verbs denoting buy, pour, weep, speak etc., the dative phrase denotes the purposive meaning. Similarly with the verbs like give, wear, write, come, go etc., the dative phrase does not denote the purposive. The contrast between the dative and the purposive found in certain sentences seems to be surface level phenomena.

Kothandaraman (1969: 88) has considered causative as a separate case as it behaves differently from the instrumental. The instrumental phrase can be nominalized but not causal phrase.

Ta. *avaṉ kattiya:l veṭṭiṉa:ṉ* 'he cut with the knife' (Inst.)
avaṉ vaṭṭiṉa katti 'knife with which he cut'
avar kaṇṇaṉa:l vanta:r 'he came because of kaṇṇaṉ (Caus.) but
**avar vanta kaṇṇaṉ* is not possible.

Te. *va:ru kalamto: ra:sae:ru* 'he wrote with a pen' (Inst.)

va:ru ra:sina kalam 'the pen with which he wrote'
a:yana ra:muto: vaccae:ru 'he came because of Ramu' (caus.) but

**a:yana vaccina ra:mu* is not possible.

Here, the co-occurring verb seems to be responsible for the syntactical difference. It is clear from the modern syntactical studies of various languages that a case behaves differently when different type of verbs co-occur with it. The differences within a case are called 'covert categories' by Fillimore (1967:3). So the purposive can be grouped within the dative and the causative, within the instrumental.

It is interesting to note that Tolka:ppiyar has made good observations about the covert categories for some cases (instrumental, genitive and locative) in Tamil (for detail, see, Shanmugam, 1970: Tolka:ppiyar's concept of case.).

II. DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

6.1. Tamil

6.1.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative suffix is *-ai*. This suffix is obligatory only with human noun (Tol. 157).

1) *ve:ntaṉ-ai...ve:ntaṉ aṭal kuṟittaṉṟe:* (Tol. 1008)
'One king thinks of conquering the (other) king'

1a) *koṇkaṉ-ai nayanta:r* (Aiṅ. 137.2) 'One who loved the husband'

1b) *eṉṉ-ai no:kku* (Kal. 61.4) 'look at me'

1c) *ve:ḷatt-ai...kaṇṭa:y* (Kal. 97-20) 'you see the elephant'

1d) *iṉṉat-ai...niṉ ikuḷaikku uṇarttteṉa...* (Naṟ. 71.1) 'Inform this thing to your friend'

In OTa., the accusative suffix is used rarely after personal pronouns. But it is obligatory in Mod. Ta.

2) *niṟ kaṇṭiciṉo:re: ...* (Aiṅ. 85.5) 'those who saw you'

2a) *nap puṇara ....* (Naṟ. 126.8) 'to join us'

2b) *taṟ paṭarntamai ...* (Kuṟ. 74.3) 'cogitating him'

Tolka:ppiyar has also mentioned that the accusative suffix has another allomorph *-a* in poetry especially after human nouns. (Tol. 592 and 593). But the occurrence of this *-a* has not so far noted in OTa. texts, except the following example which is given by the commentators of Tolka:ppiyam.

3) *ka:valo:ṉ-ak kaḷiṟu añcumme:* 'the elephant will fear of the watchman'

This *-a* is considered to have developed from an earlier suffix *-am* (Meenakshisundaran, 1965:104)

Tolka:ppiyar has also observed the free variation of accusative case with other cases.

a. ACCUSATIVE AND LOCATIVE

i) ....after words denoting parts of the body when they qualifying verbs other than the appellative verbs (Tol. 596).

4) *ko:ṭṭ-aik kuṟaitta:ṉ*
4a) *ko:ṭṭiṉ-kaṭ kuṟaitta:ṉ* } 'he cut of the tusk'

ii) before verbs *kaṉṟu* 'mature' and *cel* 'go' (Tol. 570).

5) *kaḷaviṉ-aik kaṉṟiṉa:ṉ*
5a) *kaḷaviṉ-kaṭ kaṉṟiṉa:ṉ* } 'he got the mastery over the robbery'

6) *u:r-aic cellum*
u:riṉ-kaṭ cellum } 'he will go to a village'

iii) after the genitive form of the word denoting collection when followed by its parts.

7) *kuppaiyatu talaiy-ai veṭṭiṉa:ṉ*
7a) *kuppaiyatu talaik-kaṇ veṭṭiṉa:ṉ* } 'he cut off the top of the heap'

b) ACCUSATIVE AND ABLATIVE

With the verb denoting 'fear'

8) *niṉṉ-ai añci* (Par. 14.25)
8a) *niṉṉ-iṉ añci* } 'being afraid of you'

It is to be noted that this is also in free variation with dative.

9) *ni:tto:r-kku añcal eñciṉam* (Kuṟ. 211.2) 'I (hon.) was not afraid of one who left'

9a) *ni:r-kku e:ṟṟa pacuṅkalam* (Kuṟ. 29.2) 'the raw (earthern) pot which held the water'

9b) *a:mpal ta:marai-kku iṟaiñcum* (Naṟ 300.4) 'the water-lily worship the lotus'

Tolka:ppiyar has also referred to the use of dative instead of accusative in the expression like 'this will hold that' (Tol. 594).

10) *ivaṭ-ku koḷḷum ivvaṇi* 'this ornament will suit her'

One can also notice the free variation between the dative and the accusative when the qualifying verb denotes the meaning 'say', 'tell', 'show' etc. in OTa. texts.

11) *maṟavi:r ca:ṟṟutum numm-ai* (Puṟ 104.1) 'Oh. warriors I (hon.) tell you'

11a) *aṟiya:ṟ-ku uraippal* (Kuṟ. 318.4) 'we will tell those who know nothing'

12) *aṉṉaiy-ai............kaṉaviṉ ka:ṭṭi* (Naṟ. 173.4) 'having showed the mother in the dream'

The post positions *vayiṉ*, *ma:ṭṭu*, *akam* and *etir* which are used as locative also occur in the accusative sense.

13) *nam-vayiṉ maṟantu*...(Kuṟ. 218.6) 'having forgotten us'

13a) *namm-ai maṟanta:r* (Cil. 7.32.4) 'they had forgotten us'

14) *nallo:ḷ-vayiṉ piriyac cu:ḻntaṉai* (Naṟ. 137.2) 'you had decided to leave the good lady'

15) *tuṟanta:r-ma:ṭṭu... tuṉittaṉai* (Kal. 122.3) 'you hated him who left you'

16) *avaṉ-etir naṉṟo: makaṉe: eṉṟaṉeṉ* (Kuṟ. 378.3) 'I enquired him that ......'

17) *varai-y-akam naṇṇi* (Pat. 74.7) 'having reached the mountain'

6.1.2. INSTRUMENTAL

-a:ṉ is the predominent instrumental suffix in OTa., and it has an alternant form *-a:l* also. Tolka:ppiyar said that it also has another allomorph *-a:ṉa* in poetry (Tol. 592)

18) *marupp-iṉ-a:ṉ kutti....* (Kal. 106.20) 'having pierced with the tusk....

18a) *kai-y-a:l.... aḷattal* (Par. 12.43) 'measuring by the hand'

18b) *vill-iṉ-a:l eytalo: ilar* (Kal. 137.11) 'they will not discharge (the arrow) with the bow'

18c) *kalima: uṭaimai-y-a:ṉa*...(Tol. 108) 'because of having the great elephant'

It is also used to express some other senses like sociative, causative, locative and ablative.

19) (Soc.) *kaḷiṟu...tu:ṅku kai-y-a:ṉ o:ṅku naṭaiya* (Puṟ. 22.1) 'elephants having majestic gait with the swaying hands'

19a) *uḷaṉe: to:ḻi eṉ ... pulampiṉ-a:ṉe:* (Kuṟ. 133.5) 'friend, I am living with my grief'

20) (Caus.) *ava:viṉ-a:ṟ te:mpuvaḷ* (Kal. 97.24) 'She suffers because of his great desire'

20a) *pe:tamai-y-a:ṉ .... no:takac ceytatoṉṟu uṭaiye:ṉ* (Kuṟ. 230.3) 'I had committed one painful deed because of my ignorance'

21) (Loc.) *ta:ṉe: irukkat taṉ maṉai-y-a:ṉe:* (Kuṟ. 262.3) 'let her stay in her house'

21a) *nal̤l̤en̲....pol̤utin̲-a:n̲um en̲kan̲ tuñca:* (Kur̲ 261.5.)
'my eyes are not at all closed even at midnight'

21b) *kan̲avin̲-a:n̲ eytiya celvam* (Kal. 68.24)
'the wealth which is attained in the dream'

22) (Abl.) *en̲ neñcatt-a:n̲e:....po:tal olla:l̤* (Nar̲. 201.12)
'she will not go from my heart'

It is also found to occur in the sense of adverb of manner with the abstract nouns.

23) *a:yar mur̲aiy-in̲-a:l nir̲utta:r an̲i* (Kal. 104.26)
'the shepherd women caused (the ladies) to stand (in) a row properly'

The postpositions *kon̲ṭu* (the verbal participle of the verb *kol̤* 'receive, seize') *poruṭṭa:l and uṭan̲* are also used to denote the instumental sense.

24) *oru kan̲ai-kon̲ṭu mu:veyil uṭar̲r̲i...*(Pur̲. 55.2)
'having shot the three forts with one arrow'

24a) *ko:l-kon̲ṭu puṭaikkum* (Aiṅ. 275.) (some one) will beat with the stick'

24b) *en̲kai-kon̲ṭu tan̲ kan̲ potti* (Nar̲. 28.1) 'having closed (his) eyes with my hands'

25) (Caus.) *uyir-poruṭṭa:l na:n̲ tur̲ava:r* (Tir. 1017)
'(some one) will not renounce the life due to shyness'

26) *neytal pu:v-uṭan̲ neritaru toṭalai taii* (Nar̲. 138.7)
'having stringed the fragrant garland with the neytal flower'

6.1.3 SOCIATIVE

The most common sociative suffix is *-oṭu* and it has an alternant form *-o:ṭu*.

27) *meyyiṉ iyaṟkai puḷḷiy-oṭu nilaiyal* (Tol.15)
'the nature of the consonant is to stand with the dot'

27a) *puliy-oṭu poruta...ya:ṉai* (Naṟ. 65.5) 'the elephant which fought with the tiger'

27b) *niṉṉ-oṭu va:ra:r...* (Pat. 79.9) 'they will not come with you'

27c) *a:yam-oṭu o:rai a:ṭa:tu* (Naṟ. 68.1) 'without playing with the friends'

It is also used in the instrumental, causative, ablative, locative and adverb of manner (only with abstract nouns).

28) (Inst.) *na:va:y ka:l-oṭu karai ce:ra* (Patt. 6.83)
'the ship reaching the shore with (the help of) the wind'

28a) *karuviḷai...malar...va:ṭaiy-oṭu tuyalvara ....*
(Naṟ. 262.2) 'the karuviḷai flower which is moved by the cold wind'

29) (Caus.) *ni:...evvam-oṭu peritaḻintu.... ....*
(Naṟ. 253.3) 'You having swooned greatly due to distress'

29a) *arivai viruntayar vīrupp-oṭu varuntiṉaḷ ...*
(Naṟ. 81.8) 'the woman suffered because of the feeding desire'

30) (Loc) *pulampurra neñcam-oṭu pala niṉaintu* ... (Naṟ. 31.6) 'having thought many (things) in the heart which had distress'

30a) *va:ṉam polut-oṭu curappa* (Pat. 89.1) 'the rain to pour out in the proper time'

31) (Abl.) *paruvaral neñcam-oṭu palpaṭar akala* ... (Naṟ. 18.1) 'to leave the difficulties from the suffering heart'

31a) *koṇkaṉ tanta ka:tal namm-oṭu ni:ṅka* .... (Naṟ. 231.9) 'the affection given by the husband to leave us (hon.)'

31b) *iṉṟ-oṭu po:yiṉṟu.....ival....kaviṉe* (Naṟ. 205.7) 'her beauty has gone from today'

32) (Adv. of man.) *appa:l ka:lam kuṟipp-oṭu to:ṉṟum* (Tol. 698.2) 'In these, the time (tense) will appear by implication'

32a) *muttut ta:man muṟaiy-oṭu na:ṟṟumiṉ* (Maṉ. 1.49) 'hang the garland of pearls properly'

The postposition *-uṭaṉ* is also used to denote the sociative meaning.

33) *nelli palav-uṭaṉ micaintu* (Aiṅ. 381.1) 'having eaten emblic myrobalam with jack fruit'

33a) *iḷaiyarum mutiyarum kiḷaiy-uṭaṉ kuḻi:i* ... (Aka. 348 12.) 'young and old men assembled with relatives'

33b) *emmu-uṭaṉ maṟukuṭaṉ tiritarum ciṟukuṟu ma:kkaḷ* (Naṟ. 220.5) 'the small children who are wandering with me in the street'

It also occurs in the adverbial sense with abstract nouns.

34) *viraiv-uṭaṉ neñcu nekiḻ ceytataṉ payaṉo:* (Naṟ. 277.9) 'is it due to the result of yielding quickly'

The post position *-mutal* also occurs in the sociative sense.

35) *na:ra:y...kiḷai-mutal celi:i va:ppaṟai virumpiṉai ....* (Naṟ. 54.1) 'O stork! you desire to go and fly along with your mates'

35a) *muracu-mutal veṇko:ṭu iyampa* (Naṟ. 58.6) 'the conch to sound along with the drum'

6.1.4. DATIVE

The dative suffix is *-kku* and it has an alternant form *-kka* in the poetry after the human nouns (Tol. 592 and 593).

36) *kaṭinilaiyiṉṟe: a:ciriyar-kka* (Tol. 389) 'It is not prohibited to the teacher'

The most common meaning of the dative suffix is directive, equivalent to English 'to'.

37) *kuṟṟiyal ukara-kku iṉṉe: ca:riyai* (Tol. 167) '*iṉ* is the inflectional increment to (the words ending in) shorter *u*'

37a) *nam kuṭi-kku utavi* (Naṟ. 370.2) 'having helped to our citizens'

37b) *iravalar-kku i:yum* (Pat. 81.23) 'will give to the poor'

37c) *ya:ṉai-kku iruniḻal a:kum* (Kuṟ. 77) '(it) will be good shadow to the elephant'

u:r-kkuc ceṉṟu na:m (Naṟ. 49.10) 'we, having gone to the village'

Certain other meanings like purposive, instrumental causative, genitive, comparative, locative and accusative are also found to be expressed by this suffix.

38) (Purp.) *pa:vai-kku pu:k koytu* (Puṟ. 11.4) 'having plucked the flower for the doll'

38a) *ceyporuṭ-ku akalva:r a:ṭavar* (Naṟ. 24.8) 'the men will go away (in order) to (earn) money.'

39) (Inst.) *niṉa-kko: ... aṟiyunaḷ ... ka:taṉmakaḷe:* (Naṟ. 44.5) 'lady cannot be understood by you'

40) (Caus.) *ni:r nacai-kku u:kkiya...ya:ṉai* (Aiṅ. 377) 'the elephant which had attempted due to the desire of water'

40a) *varu maḻai-kku etiriya....eṟuḻv i:* (Naṟ. 302.4) 'the flower which is blossomed by the coming rain'

41) (Loc.) *vaṭapula va:ṭai-kkup pirivo:r* (Naṟ. 366.11) 'they who will depart in the rainy season'

41a) *periyarum va:ḻum u:r-kke: ... muyaṅkukam* (Kuṟ. 368.5) 'we will embrace ... at the village where the elders live'

42) (Comp.) *itaṟ-ku itu ma:ṇṭatu* (Kuṟ. 184.3) 'this is better than this'

42a) *u:r avaṭ-ku ivaḷ ka:talaḷ eṉṉumo:* (Naṟ. 176.3) 'Will (the people of) the village say that she is more affectionate than her'

43) (Acc.) *u:r-kke: .... muṭṭuve:ṉ* (Kuṟ. 28.5) 'I shall thurst the village'

The dative suffix occurring with the human noun when it co-occurs with the kinship terms denotes the genitive sense (Tol. 578).

45) *nampi-kku makaṉ* 'son of Nampi'

In this connection it should be pointed out that in the Kanyakumari dialect of Tamil, the dative is used in the genitive without any restriction (Agesthialingom, 1967:24).

46) *eṉa-kku vi:ṭu* 'my house'

An evidence for the genitive use of the dative suffix is also in 2nd century A.D. according to Pannerselvam (1969: 285) in a bilingual coin of the sa:tava:kanasas.

47) *vaciṭṭamkaṉ-ku tirucatakaṇilen* 'Vaciṭṭamakaṉ of tirucatakaṇi'

Eventhough Tolka:ppiyar has considered *-kku* found after the names of month ending in *-i* (Tol. 248) and *-ai* (Tol. 284) and before other words as the inflectional increment *-ikku* (he has also given two sutras for the loss of *-i*: (Tol. 126, 127), it is to be taken as the dative suffix in the locative sense. (Meenakshisundaran 1959:129)

48) *a:ṭi-kkuk koṇṭa:ṉ* 'he got in the month of *a:ṭi*'

48a) *cittirai-kku koṇṭa:n* 'he got in the month of *cittirai*'

When the qualifying noun is one of the names of direction the dative suffix is in free variation with the ablative *-iṉ*.

49) *u:r-kku kuṇakku* } 'east of the village'
49a) *u:r-in̲ kuṇakku* }

The postpositions *vayin̲*, *iṭai* and *ka:l* occur in the dative sense.

50) *man̲ai-vayin̲ peyarnta ka:lai* (Naṟ. 44.4) 'at that time when returned to the house'

50a) *nirai...u:r-vayin̲ peyarum* (Kuṟ. 344.6) 'the cows will returned to the village'

51) *maṟavar....añca:tu amar-iṭai uṟutara*...(Naṟ. 48.8) 'the warriors to come to the battlefield without fear'

52) *pa:ṭṭam-ka:l kan̲ṟoṭu celve:m* (Kal. 114.1) 'we went with the calf to the garden'

The postpositions *ma:ṭṭu*, *tiṟattu*, *vayin̲* and *poruṭṭu*, are also used in the purposive sense.

53) *valliyo:r-ma:ṭṭe....cu:likku kaṭan̲um pu:ṇa:m* (Kuṟ. 218.7) 'we will not worship the Goddess Durga for the sake of the strong man'

54) *nam-tiṟattu iraṅkum iv...u:re:* (Kuṟ. 289.8) 'the village will commisserate for us'

55) *poruḷ-vayiṟ piriva:r* (Kuṟ. 20.2) 'one who separates for the sake of money'

55a) *vin̲ai-vayiṟ pirinta...* (Naṟ. 214.3) '(one) who had departed for the work'

56) *uṇankal poruṭṭa:ka...veṇṭ uruvaṅkoṇṭu...va:ḻtal* 'for the sake of dried one (of the fish) (some one) lives having taken the desired form'

56a) *ka:rikaip-poruṭṭen̲a...* (Maṇ. 22.156) 'for the sake of the lady'

6.1.5. ABLATIVE

The ablative suffix is *-in̲*. The primary meanings are (1) the ablative of motion (2) comparative and (3) the instrumental.

57) (Abl.) *malai-y-in̲ iḻi-y-aruvi* (Par. 16.32) 'the waterfalls which is descending from the hill'

57a) *tun̲ai-y-in̲ ti:rnta...ya:n̲ai* (Naṟ.108.2) 'the elephant which is separated from the mate'

57b) *erumai...kuḻavi-y-in̲ akala:tu.... payir a:rum* (Kuṟ. 181.4) 'the buffalo will eat the crop without going away from the calf'

58) (Comp.) *ya:ḻ... vaṇṭ-in̲ immen̲a imirum*(Naṟ 30.3) 'the lute makes the humming sound like the beetle'

58a) *to:kai ... makaḷir-in̲ to:n̲ṟum* (Kuṟ. 26.3) 'the peacock appears like the ladies'

59) (than) *itan̲-iṟ koṭitu piṟiton̲ṟillai* (Naṟ. 322.2.) 'no other deed will be more cruel than this'

59a) *arivai ku:ntal-in̲ naṟiyavum uḷavo:... pu:ve:* (Kuṟ. 2.4) 'is there any flower which has more fragrance than the lady's hair?'

59b) *pon̲n̲-in̲um civantan̲ṟu . . . nutale:* (Aiṅ. 105). 'the forehead became red more than gold'

The verbal participles *nin̲ṟu* and *iruntu* are also used to express the ablative of motion.

60) *kuaṇticai-nin̲ṟu kuṭamutal celin̲um* (Puṟ. 386.20) 'even if one goes from the east towards the west'

60a) *ni:r-ninru nilattu e:rri* (Patt.9.130) 'having lifted from the water (i.e. ship)'

61) *na:rai ka:lai-y-iruntu ma:laicce:kkum*(Aiṅ. 157.3.) 'the stork will stay from the morning to the evening'

Certain locative postpositions like *iṭai, vayin, uḷi* and *talai* are also used to denote the ablative sense.

62) *uṭamp-iṭai po:natu onru uṇṭu* (Maṇ. 16.99) 'there is one thing which went out of the body'

63) *ivaḷ-vayin pirintinir a:yin* (Aka. 319.10) 'if (you) separate from her'

64) *marap-uḷi vaḻa: antaṇar* (Patt. 1.95) 'brahmins who don't deviate from the tradition'

65) *inan-talai pirinta ...ma:n* (Kur. 272.3) 'the deer which is separated from the flock'

Tolka:ppiyar has noted the use of *-ku* in the ablative sense and comparative sense (Tol. 594).

The ablative suffix *-in* is also found to be used to express some other meanings like instrumental, causative, dative, accusative and adverb of manner (with abstract noun).

66) (Inst.) *panni:r uyirum ... vaḷi-y-in icaikkum* (Tol. 84) 'all the twelve vowels are produced by the air'

66a) *kaṇṇ-in no:kki ...* (Nar. 53.9) 'having seen with the eyes'

67) (Caus.) *manaiyo:ḷ maṭamai-y-iṟ pulakkum* (Kuṟ. 164.4) 'the house wife complains because of the ignorance'

67a) *e:ṟṟai iraite:r ve:ṭkai-y-iṉ iravil po:ki* (Naṟ. 32.5.2) 'the male animal having gone in the night due to the desire of prey'

68) (Acc.) *poṉṉ-iṉ aṉṉa pu:* (Pat. 61.5) 'the flower which looks like gold'

68a) *ivaḷ-iṉ me:viṉama:ki* (Kuṟ. 270.4) 'on joining (with pleasure) her'

69) (Dat.) *viḻav-iṉ celva:m* (Kuṟ. 223.1) 'we will go to the festival'

70) (Adv. of Man.) *ma:kkaḷ pukaṟci-y-iṉ eṟinta .... ciṟupaṟai* 'the drum which was beaten by the children with proud'

70a) *eḷitiṉ-iṟ koṇṭu* (Patt. 6.145) 'having obtained (something) easily'

6.1.6. GENITIVE

The genitive suffix is *-atu* according to Tolka:ppiyam 563) and it has an alternant form *-a:tu* in MOTa.

71) *iṉmai-y-atu iḷivu* (Tol. 987.9) 'the disgrace of the poverty'

71a) *ve:ntaṉ-atu toḻile:* (Aiṅ. 451) 'the duty of the king'

71b) *ka:kkai-y-atu paliye:* (Kuṟ. 210.6) 'the food of the crow'

72) *taṉ-a:tu ceṅkatire celvaṉ* (Naṟ. 164.1) 'it's sun'

72a) *taṉ-a:tu u:r* (Cil. 2.8.3.) 'his native place'

Tolka:ppiyar has referred to the occurrence of *-a* as the inflectional increment after the noun *verin* 'back' and *porun* 'joining'(Tol. 299)but it is really a genitive case suffix.

73) *verin-a to:l* (Par. 21.5) 'the skin of the back'

There are some more examples with other nouns.

74) *maratt-a-ko:ṭu* (Kuṟ 99.4) 'branch of the tree'

74a) *niṉṉ-a kaṇṇi* (Puṟ. 45.3) 'your garland'

74b) *niṉ-a ya:ṉai* (Par. 19.85) 'your elephant'

It is also to be mentioned here that *-a* is the more common genitive suffix found in the Brahmi cave inscriptions. (Mahadevan, 1968:26)

75) *ka:ḷittika antai-a sutan* 'the son of ka:ḷitika antai'

75a) *kuvi:ra:ntaiveḷ-a ta:na*
'(the) gift of ku:virantai, a, Ve:ḷ'

The appellative verbal base *uṭai* and its relative participle form also function as the genitive suffix.

76) *niṉṉ-uṭai va:ḻkkai* (Pat. 37.) 'your life'

76a) *avar-uṭai na:ṭu* (Kuṟ. 11 8) 'his (hon.) country'

76b) *pari-y-uṭai vayaṅku ta:ḷ* (Naṟ. 249.7] 'the leg of the horse'

77) *tamm-uṭaiya taṉṉaḷi* (Cil. 7.32.1) 'his kindness'

77a) *aṇank-uṭaiya ya:ppu* 'the strength of the deity'... (Maṇ. 3.57)

Historically the inflectional increments like *-iṉ* can be taken as the genitive case suffix. Note that *iṉ* is more frequent only before dative and instrumental in OTa. (§ 5.1)

78) *meyy-iṉ iyakkam* (Tol. 46) 'the movement of the consonant'

78a) *palav-iṉ ciṉai* (Kuṟ. 153.2) 'the branch of the jack'

79) *nakkat-aṉ payaṉe* (Kuṟ. 381.8) 'the result of laughing'

6.1.7. LOCATIVE

The more common locative suffix is *-iṉ/-il.* It does not occur with the animate nouns and pronouns.

80) *i:ṟṟ-il niṉṟu* (Tol. 493) 'having stood at the end'

80a) *ya:ṉai...cilamp-il tuñcum* (Naṟ. 7.8) 'the elephant will sleep in the mountain'

80b) *maruk-iṉ a:rkkavum paṭume:* (Kuṟ. 17.3) '(someone) will be ridiculed in the street'

80c) *irav-iṉ vantu* (Naṟ. 55.3) 'having come in the night'

80d) *kaṉav-iṉum piriya:* (Paṭ. 89.15) 'not separate even in the dream'

Tolka:ppiyar has considered *-a:ṉ* occurring after the names of stars ending in *-i* (Tol. 247), *-ai* (Tol. 286), and *-m* (Tol. 331) and before another word, as an inflectional increment but it can be taken as a locative suffix. (Meenakshisundaran, 1959:129). It is also to be pointed out that there is no restriction for *-a:ṉ* even in Tolka:ppiyam.

81) *paraṇi-y-a:r koṇṭa:ṉ* 'he got at the day of paraṇi star'

82) *iṟuti-y-a:ṉa* (Tol. 589) 'in the end'

82a) *irav-iṉ-a:ṉ vantaṉai* (Aiṅ. 362) 'you came in the night'

82b) *neytalum uṭaittu .....te:ro:ṉ po:kiya ka:ṉal-a:ṉe:* 'there are neytal flowers in the forest where he who had chariot went' (Kuṟ. 227.4)

attu found after the nouns denoting the seasons like *paṉi* 'winter', *malai* 'rainy season' etc. (Tol. 341, 287, 377, 402) and words like *vaḷi* 'wind' (Tol. 242) and before other words has to be taken as the locative suffix eventhough Tolka:ppiyar has considered it as an inflectional increment. *attu* has wider distribution in OTa. than noted by Tolka:ppiyam. It is to be pointed out here that the locative suffix cannot be added to those instances.

83) *paṉi-y-attuk koṇṭa:ṉ* 'he got in the winter season'

84) *pa:l nila-ttu ukka:ṅku* (Kuṟ 22.3) 'just as the milk fell on the ground'

84a) *pe:ṭai palaṉa-ttu kiḷaiyo:ṭu a:lum* (Aiṅ. 8542) 'the bird sings with the mates in the field'

There are a number of postpositions used to denote the locative sense in OTa. They are given below.

kaṇ

85) *ve:ṟṟuumaik-kaṇṇum...valleḻuttu mikutal* (Tol. 295) 'the doubling of the plosive even in the case relationship'

85a) *varaivum maṉaivik-kaṇ to:ṉṟum* (Tol. 1171) 'the attempt for the marriage will be seen with the lady love'

85b) *kaḻaik-kaṇ...e:ṟi...ma:kkaḷ ta:ḷam koṭṭum* (Naṟ. 95.5) 'the people will clap...having ascended on the bamboo'

ka:l

86) *u:rk-ka:l nivanta ña:ḻal* (Kal. 56.1) 'the plant ña:ḻal which has risen in the village'

akam

87) *tu:mp-akam paḻuṉiya te:mpiḻi* (Pat. 82.2) 'sweet liquor which was abundant in the bamboo pipe'

uḷ

88) *ikaram ukarama:tal ceyyuḷ-uḷ uritte:* (Tol. 237) 'the change of *-i* into *-u* is appropriate in the poetry'

88a) *pukai maṟuk-iṉ-uḷ mayaṅki* (Naṟ. 311.6) 'smoke having mixed (surrounded) in the street'

88b) *vaiyatt-uḷ va:ḻpavaṉ* (Tir. 50) 'one who lives in the world'

pa:l

89) *vaṭa-pa:l to:ṉṟi* (Puṟ. 201.8) 'having appeared in the north'

89a) *kiḻavo:ḷ-pa:l niṉṟu* (Tol. 1096.19) 'having stood with the lady love'

iṭai

90) *ka:ṭṭ-iṭai...curam...iṟanto:r* (Aka. 231) 'one who passed the desert in the forest'

90a) *avaṉ-iṭai to:ṉṟi* (Par. 27.23) 'having appeared with him'

90b) *ell-iṭai ni:ṅkum iḷaiyo:ḷ uḷḷam* (Naṟ. 2.8) 'the mind of the young girl leaves in the night'

kaṭai

91) *em iḷanalam il-kaṭai oḻiya* (Naṟ. 295.5) 'my (hon.) youth and beauty to perish in the house'

vaḻi

92) *peruṅkaḷiṟṟu aṭi-vaḻi nilaiiya ni:r* (Kuṟ. 262.8) 'the water remained in the foot of the big elephant'

92a) *tev-vaḻi viḷaṅka* (Pat. 52.8) 'to shine with the enemies'

mutal

93) *ma:ṉ neṟi-mutal ukaḷum* (Kuṟ. 250.2) 'the deer leaps with joy in the way'

93a) *curaṉ-mutal varuntiya varuttam* (Naṟ. 41.3) 'the difficulty attained in the desert'

talai

94) *nin-talai vanta iruvar* (Puṟ. 233.4) 'two persons who came to you'

94a) *viṇ-talai ceṟi:iyar...ma:mamaḻai* (Naṟ. 89.1) 'the clouds spread in the sky'

ma:ṭṭu

95) *nin-ma:ṭṭu niṟuppa* (Aka. 122) 'to stop with you'

95a) *ma:ri-ma:ṭṭu enna:ṟṟum* (Tir. 211) 'what can (it) do with the rain'

va:y

96) *ya:r-va:y ke:ṭṭanai* (Kuṟ. 75.5) 'from whom (you) heard'

96a) *matil-va:y to:nṟa* (Pat. 71.11) 'to appear in the fort'

uḻai

97) *avan-uḻai cenṟu* (Kal. 114.6)
'having gone to him'

97a) *pakanṟai u:r-uḻai aṇiya* (Aka. 243.7) 'the flower pakanṟai blossoms in the village'

uṭan

98) *ka:ntaḷ cilamp-uṭan kamaḻum* (Naṟ. 294.8)
'the flower ka:ntaḷ smells in the hill'

98a) *emmuṭan maṟuk-uṭan tiritarum ciṟukuṟu ma:kkaḷ*
'the young children who wander with me in the street' (Naṟ. 220.4)

iṭam

99) *poḻil-iṭam pukuntu* (Cil. 15.8)
'having entered into the park'

99a) *iṭaikkuḷa makaḷir-iṭam eyti* (Cil. 29.1.29) 'having reached the ladies of the herdsman caste'

maruṅkiṉ

100) *uyartiṇai-maruṅkiṉ icaikkum* (Tol. 487)
'(It) will sound in the superior class of words'

100a) *ampala-maruṅkil varunti* (Maṇ. 20. 87) 'having suffered in the open space'

tiṟam;

101) *avar-tiṟam celve:ṉ ya:ṉ* (Aka. 14.17)
'I will go to him'

tiṟattu

102) *niṉ-tiṟattu avalam vi:ṭa* (Aka. 340.12)
'the sufferings to disappear from you'

me:l

103) *eṉme:l vaitta uḷḷattaṉ* (Maṇ. 4.80)
'he who kept his mind with me'

micai

104) *ka:ntaḷ kaṉ-micaik kaviyum* (Kuṟ. 185.7)
'the kamtal flowers spread on the mountain'

104a) *malar-micai ta:tu* (Par. 22.40) 'the pollen which is in the flower'

varai

105) *nila-varai nivanta . . .maṇi* (Naṟ. 399.5)
'the saphire which lay in the land'

105a) *malai-varai ma:lai aḻipeyal* (Par. 10.1) 'heavy rain in the evening at the mountain'

vayiṉ

106) *avaṉ-vayiṉ to:ṉṟiya kiḷavi* (Tol. 1040) 'which appeared with him'

106a) *ceṟu-vayiṉ keṭume:* (Tol.1054) 'disapear in the word *ceṟu*'

106b) *nam-vayiṉ vantaṉar* (Naṟ. 212.6) 'they came to us'

puṭai

107) *poruppup-puṭai tiṟanta ve:l* (Par. 21.9) 'spear which bored (in) the mountain'

umpar

108) *kaṭṭi naṉṉa:ṭṭu-umpar...a:yiṉum* (Kuṟ. 11.6) 'even he is in the village of *kaṭṭi*'

mi:micai

109) *tuṟukal-mimi:cai—ka:ntaḷ aviḻum* (Kuṟ. 284.2) 'the ka:ntaḷ flowers fall on the stone'

pakkal It is found in the Middle Tamil.

110) *toḻala:r-pakkal tuyaram illai* (ña:. Te. 23.7.4) 'there is no distress with the worshipper.

110a) *turiyo:taṉaṉ-pakkal ceṉṟu* (Pe.TM. 26.4.2) 'having gone to Turiyo:tanan'

The locative suffixes with the plural nouns denotes the sense 'among'.

111) *aivar-uḷ oruvaṉ* (Patt. 1.254) 'one man among the five'

6.1.8. VOCATIVE

The vocative case is expressed in different methods:

(1) by the addition of suffixes *-e:* and *-i:r*. *-i:r* is added to the nominal bases, and -e: occurs elsewhere.

	Nom.	Voc.
112)	*neñcu* 'heart'	*neñc-e:* (Kuṟ. 11.4; Naṟ. 16.4)
112a)	*kiḻavo:ṉ* 'chief'	*kiḻavo:ṉ-e:* (Naṟ. 28.9)
112b)	*muruku* 'God Murukan'	*muruk-e:* (Naṟ. 34.11)
112c)	*makaṉ* 'son'	*makaṉ-e:* (Puṟ. 366.6)
112d)	*maḻai* 'rain'	*maḻai-y-e:* (Naṟ. 248.9)
113)		*iḷai-y-i:r* 'Oh, young men'
113a)		*maṭavi:r* 'Oh, women' (Cil. 23.249)

(2) by dropping the final *-n* denoting masculine singular.

114)	*makiḻnaṉ* 'the man who gives pleasure'	*makiḻna* (Kuṟ. 53.1)
114a)	*ce:rppaṉ* 'he-who belongs to the village'	*ce:rppa* (Naṟ. 15.3)

(3) by lengthening the final vowel.

115) *aṉṉay* 'mother' *aṉṉa:y* (Kuṟ. 33 1)

115a) *aṉṉaṅkaḷ* 'swans' *aṉṉaṅka:ḷ* (Cil. 7-32-3)

(4) The nominative forms without any modifications denote the vocative sense.

116) *iḷaiyar* 'youngman' *iḷaiyar* (Naṟ. 21.1)

116a) *to:ḻi* 'friend' *to:ḻi* (Kuṟ. 398.1)
116b) *tumpi* 'beetle' *tumpi* (Kuṟ. 2.1)

6.2. Malayalam

6.2.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative case suffix is *-ai* in the early inscriptional records and *-e* is found once in the 10th century inscription, and regularly in the early literature. The suffix is optional for non-human nouns according to *Li:la:tilakam* but in modern Malayalam, it is optional only with inanimate nouns.

117) *ca:ttirar-ai ye:ṟṟikkoṇṭu* 'having lifted the ca:ttirar'
117a) *ña:n avan-e aṭiccu* 'I beat him'

6.2.2. INSTRUMENTAL

The suffix is *-a:l*. It mainly expresses the idea of agency and the instrumentality.

118) *iṭaṅkaḻiy-a:l irupatinkalam* 'twenty kalams by the measure iṭaṅkaḻi'

119) *ro:gatt-a:l avan paḷḷikku:ṭattil po:yilla* 'he did not go to school because of disease'

There is one instance where this suffix is used in the locative sense (Sekhar, 1953:84).

120) *inna:ḷ-a:l* 'on this day'

-koṇṭu is also used to denote the instrumental meaning from 10th century onwards.

121) *arici-koṇṭu nive:tikka kaṭavar* 'let them worship with rice'

122) *enn-ekkoṇṭu* 'by me' (Mod. Ma.)

6.2.3. SOCIATIVE

The allomorphs are *-oṭu* and *-o:ṭu* and both are in free variation.

123) *a:riyar-oṭu po:yi* '(someone) went with Aryans'

This suffix denotes (1) ablative of motion, (2) locative, (3) the adverb of manner and (4) 'through'.

124) (Abl.) *uttarov-o:ṭu ve:ṟupa:ḍu* 'difference from the order (RC)'

124a) *ni:r-o:ṭu ve:ṟa:ya mi:n* 'the fish which is disconnected from the water' (KG)

125) (Loc.) *ña:n avan-o:ṭu paṟaññu* 'I told him'

126) (Adv. of Man.) *va:yu ve:katt-o:ṭu aṭiccu* 'the wind blew fastly'

126a) *sne:hatt-o:ṭu ku:ṭi peruma:ṟi* 'behaved lovingly (with love)'

127) (through) *kaṭal-o:ṭu po:ya:r* 'they went through the sea' (Gundert)

-uṭan also occurs as the sociative sign.

128) *sri vallapaṅkotaiy-uṭan irukka* 'be with Sri Vallapaṅko:tai'

6.2.4. DATIVE

In the inscriptional Malayalam, *-kku* occurs after *-i*, *-ai*, *-u*, *-y*, *-l*, *-ḷ*, *-r* and *-in* and *-in* after stops, *-v* and *-an*. Both are in free variation after the increment *-in*. As for the early literary Malayalam *(i)nu* occurs after the stem ending in *-n* and *-kku* elsewhere.

129) *ko:tai iravi-kku* 'to Kotai Ravi'

129a) *intu ko:tai-kku* 'to Intuko:tai'

129b) *ayyanu-kku* 'to Ayyan'

129c) *peruma:ḷ-kku* 'to Peruma:ḷ'

129d) *ko:yil-kku* 'to the temple'

129e) *te:var-kku* 'to god'

129f) *celavin-kku* > *celaviṟku* 'to the expenditure'

129g) *a:ṟinu-kku* 'to six'

130) *vitt-inu* 'to the seed'

130a) *neyve:tt-inu* 'to the offering'

130b) *celav-inu* 'to the expenditure'

130c) *iraṇṭ-inu* 'to two'

130d) *tiruviḻa:vin-nu* 'to the festival'

131) *te:vaṟ-ku kuṭutta bhu:mi* 'the land given to Devan'

This is also used in the locative, genitive and purposive senses. (Gundert, 1862)

132) (Loc.) *kaḻuttaikkum ta:ḷaikkum muṟikaḷ uṇṭa:yiṭṭu* 'having wounds on the back and the head'

133) (Gen.) *ve:ṭarkku atipati kugan* 'Kugan is the leader of hunters or leader for hunters'

134) (Pur.) *u:ṇinu ka:ttirikunnu* '(someone) is waiting for meals'

135) (Among) *uttamana-kkum uttaman bhava:n* 'you are good among good persons'

6.2.5. ABLATIVE

The ablative of motion is expressed by *-ilninṟu* in the 12th and 13th century inscriptions, and it is found as *-ilninnu* in early texts and also in Modern Malayalam. Moreover, *-innu*, *-i:nnu* and *-nnu* are also employed freely to denote the ablative of motion in the early texts.

136) *viruttiyil-ninṟu varun nellu* 'paddy coming from the land given for rent'

136a) *vayaṟṟi:nnu* 'from the stomach'

136b) *me:li:nnu* 'from above'

136c) *vi:ṭṭiynnu* 'from the house'

There is one instance of *-annu* used in the ablative of motion (Ramaswami Ayyer, 1936b:10).

137) *manaikkannu* 'from the house' (keraḷo:lpatti)

-il used in the comparative sense can be considered as ablative suffix.

138) *a: meyy-il kiḻiñña mey* 'the body which is more reduced than that body'

138a) *avan-il bhe:dam ivana:nu* 'this man is better than that man'

6.2.6. GENITIVE

-uṭai is found in 10th century inscriptions and *-uṭaiya* in the later period. In the literary Malayalam *-ṯe* occurs after the stem ending in *-n* and *uṭe* elsewhere.

139) *paṭa:rar uṭai na:ḷ* 'the day of paṭa:rar'

139a) *kaḷattappaṟ-uṭaiya śri:ka:riyam* 'temple service of kalattappan'

139b) *en-ṯe makan po:yi* 'my son has gone'

139c) *avaḷ-uṭe* 'her'

6.2.7. LOCATIVE

-il and *-kal* are the most common suffixes, and they occur also with human nouns and pronouns in the literary Malayalam.

140) *avaḷ-il kanivuṇṭa:yi* '(someone) had sympathy with her'

140a) *tanayaṅ-kal ra:jyam samarppiccu* 'having dedicated the kingdom to the son'

140b) *avan-kal veccu* 'having kept with him'

The use of *-ka:l* as the locative suffix is not frequent.

141) *ciṟuva:tin-ka:l* 'in the small gate'

In this connection it may be mentioned that *-il* is also used in the instrumental meaning.

142) *kaṇṇ-il kaṇṭatu* 'that which is seen by the eye'

142a) *patt-il perukku* 'multiply by ten'

The post positions *uḷ* and *pakkal* are also used to express location.

143) *ya:ṇṭ-uḷ* 'in the year'

144) *puṟappotuva:ḷ pakkal* 'with puṟappotuva:ḷ'

6.2.8. VOCATIVE

1) *e:* is added after the nouns ending in *-a* or *-ə* which is lost after the addition of the vocative suffix.

	Nom.	*Voc.*	
145)	*amma*	*amme:*	'Oh, mother'
145a)	*ra:ja:və*	*ra:ja:ve:*	'Oh, the king'

2) The nouns ending in *-an* will form the vocative by dropping the *-n* and elongating the final vowel.

146)	*ra:man*	*ra:ma:*	'Oh, Rama'

In literary Malayalam *-e:* can be added directly to the nouns (K.P. p. 173).

147) *ra:man-e:* 'oh, Rama'

In the nouns ending in other vowels, the final vowel is elongated.

148) *ce:cci, ce:cci:* 'Oh, elder sister'

148a) *ammu, ammu:* 'Oh, Ammu'

6.3. Kota

6.3.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative allomorph is *-n*.

149) *avḷ-n* 'her' (Acc.)

149a) *kaḷ-n* 'thief-man'

149b) *molt-n~molmn* 'hare'

149c) *pujgu:ḷ-n* 'tigers'

149d) *ka:ṛ-t-n>ka:ṭn* 'field'

It is optional with neuter inanimate nouns.

150) *u:n martn ercko:* 'he cut down the tree'

150a) *u:n marm ercko:* 'id'

6.3.2. INSTRUMENTAL

The allomorphs are *-a:r* after non-human nouns and *-a:l* after human nouns and pronouns.

151) *em-a:l* 'by us' (excl.)

151a) *avn-a:l* 'by him'

151b) *a:ḷ-a:l* 'by the man'

151c) *peḍ-a:l* 'by the wife'

152) *kaṛt-a:r* 'by the ass'

152a) *puj-a:r* 'by the tiger'

152b) *kaṇ-a:r* 'by the eye'

152c) *pa:b-a:r* 'by the snake'

This is also used in the locative meaning.

153) *avnd keva:yṇ-a:r oḏiṛ iṭon* 'he struck a blow on his cheek'

153a) *avn pitl-a:r iṭo:* 'he struck on the back'

153b) *o:yṇa:ṯ-a:r ikuko* 'it is in the path'

There is one instance of *-n* used in the instrumental sense.

154) *et-n ka:ṛ uṛta:ne* 'he ploughed the field with the bullock'

6.3.3. SOCIATIVE

The sociative case suffix is *-o:ṛ*.

155) *am-o:ṛ* 'with us (incl.)'

155a) *u:n-o:ṛ* 'with this man'

155b) *avḷ-o:ṛ* 'with her'

155c) *na:y-o:ṛ* 'with the dog'

155d) *janm-o:ṛ* > *janto:ṛ* ~ *janmo:ṛ* 'with the people'

It is also denotes the ablative meaning and the instrumental (especially in the passive construction)

156) *en ayṇ-o:ṛ de:r ve:čr vake:n* 'I will come fetching a god from my father'

156a) *inḏ-o:ṛ end pa:ṛ ti:rcko* 'from today onwards my sufferings are'

156b) *kaṛt-o:ṛ a:n i:r ve:čpe:n* 'I was beaten by the ass'

6.3.4. DATIVE

The dative allomorph is *-k*.

157) *en-k* 'to me'

157a) *nim-k* 'to you (pl.)'

157b) *peḏ-k* 'to the wife'

157c) *marm-ṭ-k* > *martk* 'to the tree'

157d) *pa:b-k* 'to the snake'

157e) *ivar-k* 'to these people'

This is employed in the comparative sense also.

158) *adn-k id pacu:ṇdoḏo:* 'this is better than that'

6.3.5. ABLATIVE

The ablative case allomorphs are *-tr* and *-ltr*. *-tr* occurs with the place adverbials like *ayk, iyk* and *eyk* and with the nouns ending in lateral.

159) *ayk-tr* 'from there'

159a) *eyk-tr* 'from here'

159b) *mamu:l-tr* 'from the ancient time'

159c) *ko:ka:l-tr* 'from the Kota village'

-ltr occurs elsewhere.

160) *pay-ltr* 'from the house'

160a) *du:rm-t-ltr* > *du:rtltr* 'from the distance'

160b) *ko:na:ṛt-ltr* > *ko:na:ṭltr* / *ko:na:ṭḷtr* 'from the plains'

160c) *baja:rm-t-ltr* > *baja:rtltr* 'from Ooty'

6.3.6. GENITIVE

The genitive suffix is *-d*

161) *en-d* 'mine; my'

161a) *nin-d* 'your (sg.)'

161b) *co:ym-d* 'God's'

161c) *kaṛt-d* 'of the ass'

161d) *marm-t-d* > *martd* 'of the tree'

6.3.7. LOCATIVE

The locative allomorph is *-l*.

162) *ka:ṛ-l* > *ka:ṭḷ* ~ *ka:ṭl* 'in the field'

162a) *marm-t-l* > *martl* 'in the tree'

162b) *ka:lm-t-l* > *ka:ltl* 'in the time'

162c) *kaṇ-l* > *kaṇḷ* 'in the eye'

6.3.8. PURPOSIVE

The purposive allomorph is *–ka:ṛy*.

163) *en-ka:ṛy* 'because of me'

163a) *adn-ka:ṛy* 'because of that'

163b) *mogu:ḷ-ka:ṛy* 'for the children'

163c) *na:ym-t-ka:ṛy>na:ytkaṛy* 'for the justice'

6.3.9. VOCATIVE

There are four allomorphs *–a:*, *–o:*, *–i:* and *–e:*. *–a:* occurs with the human nouns when the speaker is a male person.

164) *ayn-a:* > *aya:* 'Oh! father'

164a) *av–a:* > *ava:* 'Oh! mother'

164b) *me:ym-a:* > *me:yma:* 'Oh! aunt'

164c) *kambaṭn-a:* > *kambaṭa:* 'Oh! kambaṭn'

-o: occurs after the human nouns when the speaker is a female person.

165) *ayn-o:* > *ayo:* 'Oh ! father'

165a) *av-o:* 'Oh! mother'

165b) *ma:mn-o:* > *ma:mo:* 'Oh! uncle'

-i: occurs with Super human nouns.

166) *co:ym-i:* 'Oh! God'

166a) *pica:c-i:* 'Oh! devil'

-e: occurs after the non-human nouns and also with the human nouns ending in a retroflex consonant.

167) *puj-e:* 'Oh! tiger'

167a) *ko:y-e:* 'Oh! hen'

167b) *kara:ḷ-e:* → *kara:ḷe:* 'Oh! younger brother'

6.4. Toda

6.4.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative allomorphs are *-ṇ* and *-n*. *-ṇ* occurs after the noun stems ending in retroflex consonants. *-n* occurs elsewhere.

168) *o·ḷ-ṇ* 'man' (Acc.)

168a) *o·n ī r-n pi·špini* 'I beat the buffalo'

168b) *ku·x-n paṯ* 'catch the girl'

168c) *o:n īne·ṟ nīm-n koẓpini* 'I saw you yesterday'

6.4.2. INSTRUMENTAL

The allomorphs are *-a·l*, *-a·r* and *-iṭ*. *-a·r* occurs after the noun denoting human organs, *-iṭ* after the non-human inanimate noun stems and *-a·l* elsewhere.

169) *o·n koṇ-a·r kwī·ṭṣpini*

169a) *o·n mošt-iṭ me·ṇ kwartšpini* 'I cut the tree with an axe'

169b) *em-al* 'by us'

169c) *edfīni kek nīn-a·l muṭdu iḏ enk ōšt* 'please tell me that when this work will be finished by you'

169d) *o·n mod-iṭ po·s kaṟtpini* 'I churn the milk with churning rod'

6.4.3. SOCIATIVE

The sociative suffix is *-poḍy*. It occurs after the human noun stems.

170) *en-poḍy podoṭi* 'you should not come with me'

170a) aθ *en-poḍy pozi* 'he came with me'

6.4.4. DATIVE

The dative suffix is *-k*.

171) *nīn-k* 'to you'

171a) *ko·tfoy-k* 'to wife'

171b) *o·n īne·r to·ro·ṟmoḏ-k pi·špini* 'I went to Taranad Mund yesterday'

6.4.5. ABLATIVE

The ablative allomorphs are *-s̱n* and *-niḏ* which are in free variation.

172) *aṯ-s̱n poditi* 'he comes from there'

172a) *o·n moḏ-s̱n podpini* 'I come from mund'

172b) *o·nmoḏ -niḏ podpini* 'id'

172c) *o·n a·s̱-niḏ pi·pini* 'I go from the house'

173) *o·n poḷku·ḍt-niḏ podpini* 'I come from the school'

6.4.6. GENITIVE

The genitive allomorphs are *-n* after the kinship terms and *-d* elsewhere.

174) *ku·x–n oṭ* 'daughter's husband'

174a) *en ok-n o:ṭ* 'elder sisters's husband'

174b) *en wīṛfed–n mox* 'younger sisters's son'

175) *koṛ–d ko·l* 'calf's leg'

175a) *en–d wīḍ īr kö·ṛk paṭpini* 'I catch my buffalo for killing at funeral'

175b) *po·b-d po·s̱m* 'snake's tail'

6.4.7. LOCATIVE

The locative allomorphs are *-s̱, ts̱, -ẓ, kiẓ* and *-giẓ*. *-s̱* occurs after non-human inanimate nouns ending in *-y*, *-ts̱* after the inanimate nouns ending in nasal, *-kiẓ* after human nouns ending in a consonant, *-giẓ* after pronouns and human nouns ending in a nasal and *-ẓ* after non-human inanimate nouns ending in a consonant other than nasal or *-y*.

176) *kulo·y–s̱ ni·r o·ṭθy* 'there is no water in the tap'

176a) *me·ṇ–ts̱* 'in the tree'

177) *ak ku·x-kiẓ upum pu·txuḷy wīḍy* 'she has more cloak'

177a) *en·giẓ pot ko–s wīḍy* 'I have ten rupees'

178) *pül ku·ḍ-ẓ wīḍy* 'the bird is in the nest'

178a) *woskal-ẓ tīt koti* 'fire burns in the oven'

6.4.8. PURPOSIVE

The suffixes are *-koy* after human nouns and pronouns and *-koc* elsewhere.

179) *ak ku·x–koy o·n pozpini* 'I came for that girl'

179a) *an–koy o·n afo·ṭṣpini* 'I talked for her'

179b) *ko·s-koc kele kīsti* 'he does work for money'

6.4.9. VOCATIVE

The suffix is *-i* after the stem ending in *-y* and *-a* elsewhere.

180)	*koy* 'hand'		*koyi*	Voc.
181)	*af* 'mother'		*afa·*	„
182)	*aṇon* 'brother'		*oṇo·*	„
183)	*piyn* 'grandfather'		*piya·*	„

$n \rightarrow \emptyset$ / & -*a*·

$\check{V}_1 \rightarrow \bar{V}_1$ / – & *a*·

a· $\rightarrow \emptyset$ / $\bar{V}_1$ & –

6.5. **Kodagu**

6.5.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative allomorphs are *-a* after the nouns ending *-ḷ* and *-na* elsewhere.

Exx.	184.	*avaḷ–a*	'her'	(Acc.)
	185.	*nan–na*	'me'	„
	185a.	*me:ji-na*	'table'	„
	185b.	*mara–t–na*	'tree'	„

6.5.2. INSTRUMENTAL

The suffixes *-koṇḍī* and *-kayñja* are freely used to denote the instrumental meaning. But *-kayñja*< (*kay* 'hand') occurs always after the genitive form of the noun.

186. *katti-n-koṇḍī* > *kattinoṇḍī* 'by the knife'

186a. *kattinoṇḍī veṭiyĕ* 'I cut with knife'

186b. *a: paṇi nann-oṇḍī a:cci* 'This work has been done by me'

187. *na:ḍa-kayñja* 'by me'

6.5.3. SOCIATIVE

jotĕli, *pakka* and *ku:ḍa* are the post positions used to denote the sociative case. These are added to the genitive form of the nouns.

188. *ave*^{n} *na:ḍa-jotĕli ba:tī* 'he came with me'

189. *na:ḍa-pakka* 'with me'

190. *aveṇḍa ku:ḍa* 'with him'

6.5.4. DATIVE

The dative allomorphs are (1) *-gī* after the stem ending in a nasal and (2) *-kī* elsewhere.

191. *avĕṅ-gī koḍīte* 'I gave him'

191a. *na:nɨ bayī-kī po:nĕ* 'I went to the field

192a. *adaṅ-gī* 'to it' *ava-kī* 'to her'

It also occurs in the locative sense.

193. *pattī gaṇḍa-kī na:ni alli po:pi* 'I will go there at 10 o'clock'

6.5.5. PURPOSIVE

The purposive case is expressed by the addition of *-a:ytī* which is added to the dative form.

194. *na:ka:ytī ave^n i: paṇina ma:ḍici* 'he did this work for my sake'

6.5.6. ABLATIVE

The ablative suffix is *-iñji*. *-kayñja* is also used as the ablative sign which occurs only after the genitive form of the noun.

195. *nanniñji* 'from me'

195a. *na:ḍa kayñja* 'from me'

195b. *mara-t-iñji oru pannu paricë* 'I plucked a fruit from the tree'

195c. *maneyenji bandë* 'I came from the house'

-iñji also occurs after the verbal nouns where *-i* is lost.

195d. *ave^n barpëñji na: no:ṭiyëṇḍiñjë* 'I am looking from the time of coming'

195e. *alli nipëñji ella:rī de:vaḷa po:ḍiyöṇḍī uḷḷe* 'All are praying God from the time of standing there'

In human nouns and pronouns the ablative suffix is added after the locative suffix *-alli*.

196) *na:ḍalliñji* 'from me'

196a) *mu:ḍidalliñji* 'from the girl'

It is also used to denote the comparative sense where it is added after the dative suffix.

197) *na:k-iñji aven belliyavën* 'he is bigger than me'

197a) *i: mara-tī-k-iñji a: mara ceriyadī* 'that tree is smaller than this tree'

6.5.7. GENITIVE

The genitive allomorphs are (1) *-ḍa* after the stem ending in a nasal and after personal pronoun and (2) *-ra* elsewhere.

198) *idī na:-ḍa mane* 'this is my house'

198a) *adīṇ-ḍa ba:lī* 'its tail'

198b) *idī poṇ-ḍa mu:kati* 'this is wife's ear-ring'

199) *me:ji-ra ka:lī* 'the leg of the table'

199a) *pu:ñe-ra ba:lī* 'the tail of the cat'

6.5.8. LOCATIVE

The locative suffix is *-lī*. It occurs with neuter nouns.

200) *naḍa mane-lī mu:nḍī ko:mbara uṇḍu* 'there are three rooms in my house'

200a) *a: to:ṭa-t-lī pattī mara uṇḍu* 'there are ten trees in that garden'

The locative postposition *-alli* occurs with the human nouns and pronouns where it is added after the genitive form.

211) *na:-ḍa-alli* > *na:ḍalli* 'with me'

Another postposition *-oḷīlī* is found to occur with human and neuter nouns. With neuter nouns it gives the meaning 'inside'. It is also added after the genitive form of the nouns.

212) *na:-ḍa-oḷīlī* > *na:ḍoḷīlī* 'with me'

212a) *mane–ra-oḷīl* 'inside the house'

6.6. Kannada

6.6.1 ACCUSATIVE

-a:n, *-an*, *-am*, *-a:* and *-a* are the suffixes used freely in the inscriptional records. The forms with the long vowel are found in the early period.

213) *biḻdo:n–a:n* 'he who has fallen (Acc.)

213a) *ko:ṭey–an* 'fort' "

213b) *vi:ram–am* 'valour' "

213c) *kayy–a* 'hand' "

214) *phalam-a:* 'fruit' "

The addition of accusative suffix is opitional after non-human nouns.

-an is also used to denote the instrumental and dative.

215) (Inst.)*de:var-am pu:v–an arcisidam* 'he worshipped God by flowers' (SMD)

216) (Dat.) *ponnam baḍḍiy–am koṭṭam* 'he gave gold for the interest' (SMD)

6.6.2. INSTRUMENTAL

The allomorphs *-im*, *-in*, and *-inda* are in free variation. However, *-im* occurs mostly after the nouns ending in a consonant.

217) *adhika:rad-im* 'with the authority'

217a) *sukhad-in* 'with happiness'

217b) *oḷpin-inda* 'with distinction'

These suffixes are used to express the instrumental, ablative of motion, comparative, adverb of manner and 'since'.

218) (Inst.) *idu maṇṇ-inda ma:ḍida pratime* 'this is an image made of sand'

218a) *ko:l-inda hoḍeḍa* '(someone) beat him with the stick'

219) (Abl.) *purigeṟer-im banda poleyaṇṇa* 'Poleyanna who come from Purigere'

219a) *keṟay-im bandam* 'he came from the lake'

220) (Comp.) *avan-inda ivanu doḍḍavanu* 'this person is taller than that person'

221) (Adv.) *nayad-inda ma:ta:ḍida* 'he talks with politeness'

Note the last sentence can be paraphrased like *nayava:gi ma:ta:ḍida.*

222) (Since) *na:nu ondu va:rad-inda ninnannu no:ḍalilla* 'I have not seen you a whole week (lit. since a week)'

6 6.3. SOCIATIVE

The suffix is *-oḍane*.

223) *mu:vattiruvar peṇḍirkaḷ-oḍane ..ka:mabho:gaṅga-ḷan anubavisuttum* 'enjoying the sensual pleasures with 32 wives' (Vaḍḍ.)

In Vaḍḍa:radhane (Kushalappa Gowda, 1963:11), *-verasu* is also used to denote the sociative sense.

224) *samasta balam - berasu po:gi* 'having gone with all the army'

6.6.4. DATIVE

The suffixes are *-(k)ke* and *-(g)ge* and both are in free variation.

225) *a:laya-ke* 'to the temple'

225a) *nagara-kke* 'to the town'

225b) *mane-ge* 'to the house'

225c) *arasar-gge* 'to the king'

225d) *salipa-ge* 'to him who protects'

225e) *go:vindapa:ḍi-ge koṭṭadu* '(some one) gave to Govindapadi'

This is also used in the purposive, comparative, locative and genitive senses.

226) (Purp.) *keṟe-ge maḍi eraḍu* 'two madi-s for a tank'

227) (Comp.) *avani-ge ivanu doḍḍavanu* 'this man is taller than that man' (NKa.)

228) (Loc.) *avanu kaṣṭa-kke sikkidanu* 'he got into the difficulty' (Nka.)

229) (Gen.) *nahuṣan-ge magan yaya:ti* 'yaya:ti, son of Nahuṣa' (Gai. 1946:103)

6.6.5. GENITIVE

The suffixes are *-a:* and *-a* which are in free variation. The long vowel is more frequent in the early period and the short vowel in the later period.

230) *de:van-a: piṭhama:n* 'the alter of God'

230a) *avar-a: magaḷu* 'his (hon. sg.) daughter'

231) *aśvame:dhad-a phalapra:pti* 'the fruit of the horse sacrifice'

231a) *poleyaṇṇan-a śila:karmma* 'the inscription of Poleyanna'

It is to be noted that Ke:sira:ja, the native Kannada grammarian has mentioned the suffix *-atu* without assigning any meaning to it (Narasimhachar, 1959:126, Sutra, 158). But it is clear from his example that it is a genitive case suffix.

232) *nin-atu chalam* 'your stubbornness'

232a) *en-atu śauryam* 'my valour'

6.6.6. LOCATIVE

-uḷ/oḷ and *-alli* are the two postpositions used to denote the locative sense. In the inscriptional records upto 14th century, they occur only after the neuter nouns. But *-alli* occurs after personal pronouns in Vaḍḍa:ra:dhane. *oḷ* has got the alternants like *oḷe*, *oḷage* and *-o*.

233) *okkaḷ-uḷ potti* 'having got burnt in the place of the residence' (Insc.)

233a) *tuṟupina puyyal-oḷ dommara ka:ḍavam sattu* 'Dommara ka:ḍavan having died in the distress (fight) of the cows' (Insc.)

233b) *va:ra:ṇa:si-y-o sa:sirvva pa:rvvar...konda maka: pa:takam...* 'the great sin (accrued out of) killing 1000 brahmins in Varnasi' (Insc.)

233c) *a:vittid-alli veḷeya:de keḍuge* 'let no crops come in the place of sowing' (Insc.)

233d) *ennalli* 'with me' (Vaḍḍ.)

There is one suffix *-a~-al* which occurs mostly with the names of direction and less frequently with other nouns in the locative sense.

234) *vidya:rthi ma:ṇiya:rggam biṭṭa...bayal-alu mattar eraḍu* 'In the two matters of land that given to the students' (Insc.)

234a) ... *na:lvara kayyal ... koṇḍu* 'having taken from the hands of four persons'

234b) *mu:ḍa/mu:ḍalu* 'in the west'

With the nouns of times, *-alli* and *-ge* are in free variation.

235) *mu:ṟu ganḍage bande* } 'I came at 3 o'clock'
235a) *mu:ṟu ganḍeyalli bande* }

Locative suffix can be used to denote instrumental, causative and 'among'.

236) (Inst.) *mogod -oḷ meḷdam* 'ate with (or through) the mouth' (SMD)

237) (Caus.) *veragad-oḷ si:dam* 'he became burnt by the (fire of) separation' (SMD)

238) (Among.) *vajravu ratnagaḷḷi śre:ṣṭava:daddu* 'the diamond is the best among the precious stones' (SMD)

6.6.7. VOCATIVE

e/e: is added after the singular nouns.

239) *ko:kilana:de-y-e:* 'She who has voice like cuckoo' (Voc.)

239a) *candran-e:* Oh! moon'

239b) *koḷan-e:* 'Oh! lake'

239c) *maram-e:* 'Oh! tree'

239d) *taḷir-e:* 'Oh! sprout'

e: is optional in the singular nouns. *ir(a)* is added after the plural nouns.

240) *de:viyargaḷ ira* 'Oh! queens'

240a) *naṇṭarira* 'Oh! relatives'

The lengthening of the final vowel is also found in some words ending in a vowel.

241) *tumbi : tumbi:* 'Oh! bee'

6.7. Badaga

6.7.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative case suffix is *-a*.

242) *av-v-a* 'her' (Acc.)

242a) *yenn-a* 'me' "

242b) *adu-n-a* 'that' "

243) *mara-v-a* 'tree' "

6.7.2. INSTRUMENTAL

The instrumental case allomorphs are *-enda*, *-do*, and *-o:*. *-do-* occurs with non-human inanimate noun stems ending in *-a* and any other consonant except *-y*, *-o:* after the non-human inanimate noun stems ending in a front vowel and *-y* and *-enda* occurs elsewhere.

244) *koraṭṭol-do* 'by the shell of the coconut'

244a) *kabna-do* 'by iron'

244b) *kayy-o:* 'by the hand'

244c) *avk-enda/avkar-enda* 'by them'

244d) *ninn-enda* 'by you'

244e) *tuppu-d-enda* 'by salt'

This is also used to express the comparative sense.

245) *yenn-enda ama oḷḷiyama* 'he is better than me'

6.7.3. SOCIATIVE

The sociative allomorphs are *-o:ḍa* and *-ko:da*. *-o:ḍa* occurs after the non-human inanimate noun stems and *-ko:ḍa* elsewhere.

246. *haṇa-v-o:ḍa* 'with money'

246a. *has-o:ḍa* 'with hunger'

246b. *koti-ko:ḍa* 'with the cat'

246c. *ni: ne:ko:ḍa bande* 'you came with the dog'

This is also used to denote the ablative (of motion) sense.

247. *ama yenna appana-ko:ḍa haṇa yi:sida*
'he got the money from my father'

6.7.4. DATIVE

The dative suffix is *-ga*.

248. *na: mane-ga bande* 'I came to the house'

248a. *adu-ga* 'to that'

248b. *avka-ga* 'to them'

This is also found to occur with purposive sense.

249. *na: mane-ga haṇa koṭṭe* 'I gave money for the house'

6.7.5. PURPOSIVE

The purposive allomorph is *-ga:yi*.

250. *na: ava-ga:yi ho:de* 'I went for her'

250a. *na: haṇa-ga:yi gelesa ma:ḍide* 'I worked for the sake of money'

250b. *ni: e:na-ga:yi bande* 'why/for what reason did you come?'

250c. *na: timpadu-ga:yi ho:de* 'I went (there) in order to eat (something)'

6.7.6. ABLATIVE

The suffix is *-enda.*

251) *aman–enda yenaga leṭṭar bandu* 'I have got a letter from him'

251a) *avka maney–enda bandaru* 'they came from the house'

251b) *ama dana:nda ha:lu karada* 'he milked (from) the cow'

6.7.7. GENITIVE

The genitive suffix is *–a.*

252) *aman–a dana* 'his cow'

252a) *avka-r-a koṫi* 'their cat'

–uḍaya can be employed after human nouns to express the genitive sense.

253) *aman–uḍaya jo:li* 'his work'

6.7.8. LOCATIVE

The locative allomorphs are *-o:* and *–o:ga.* They occur after non-human nouns and both are in free variation.

254) *mara-d–o: / mara-d-o:ga* 'in the tree'

254a) *ka:l–d-o:/ka:l-d-o:ga* 'in the leg'

254b) *manevo· yenna aṇṇa iddane* 'my elder brother is in the house'.

The post position *–sa:re* 'near' which occurs after the genitive stems is used with the human nouns and pronouns.

255) *amana sa:re* 'with him' (Loc.)

255a) *ra:mana sa:re* 'with Raman'

256) *mane sa:re mora haḍade* 'there is a tree near the house'

6.8. Tulu

6.8.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative suffixes are *-nu* (*nɨ* according to Shankara Bhat, 1967:85) and *-anu* which occurs after personal singular pronouns.

257) *kañji-nɨ koṇola* 'take a way the calf'

257a) *i viṣaya-nɨ ra:jagɨ tiḷiso:yerɨ* '(they) told this thing to the king'

258) *en-anu* 'me' (Acc.)

258a) *in-anu* 'you' „

The accusative suffix is optional with certain nouns but the condition has not been given by Bhat and Brigel.

6.8.2. INSTRUMENTAL

The instrumental allomorphs are *-ḍa*, *-ṭa* and *-aṭa*. *-ḍa* occurs after the second and third set of nouns set up by Bhat (1967:85) and also after plural pronouns, *-ṭa* after the nouns belonging to the first set and with the neuter demonstrative singular pronouns and *-aṭa* after the first and second person singular pronouns.

259) *simma-ḍa* 'with the lion'

259a) *krimi-ṭa* 'by the worm'

259b) *nin-aṭa* 'with you'

259c) *brihaspatya:ca:rre-ḍa ampo:ṇḍane* 'If I got it done by the sage Bruhaspati'

It is also used to express the sociative and locative senses.

260) (Soc.) *kañji-ḍa gabbontuḷḷe* 'he is playing with the calf'

261) (Loc.) *a ajji-ḍa po:tu ke:ṇuṇa eñca* 'how to go and ask that old woman?'

261a) *na:raderi en-aṭa inno gurtani paṇḍeri* 'Narada told me your mark'

6.8.3. DATIVE

The dative suffixes are *ki*, *-ku* and *gi*. *-ki* occurs after the first set of nouns and also with the singular pronouns, *-ku* after the second set of nouns and *-gi* after the nouns belonging to the third set and also with the plural pronouns (Bhat).

262) *kay-ki* 'to the hand'

262a) *eñ-ki* 'to me'

262b) *ajji jo:kuḷe-gi katɛ paṇontittaḷi* 'the grand mother was telling stories to the children'

262c) *kañji-gi koḷḷa* 'give to the calf'

This is employed to give also the purposive and locative meanings.

263) (Purp.) *a:ye vya:pa:roñ-ku po:ye* 'he went to sell (something)'

264) (Loc.) *ka:ri-gi muḷḷu kaska kantini* 'the thorn pricked the leg forcibly'

Brigel points out the genitive meaning for this suffix when the qualifying noun is a kinship term.

265) *eṅ-ku mage* 'my son'

6.8.4. GENITIVE

The genitive suffix is *-a*. According to Shankara Bhat (1967:85), the genitive allomorphs are *-ta* and *-da*. But *t* and *d* have been taken as the inflectional increments. (See § 5.8.1.).

266) *kay-t-a* 'of the hand'

266a) *krimi-t-a* 'of the worm'

266b) *kañji-d-a ka:ri* 'the cow's leg'

266c) *o:ḍa:ri-n-a* 'potter's'

266d) *enn-a* 'my'

266e) *a:ya-n-a meyto ro:goṅkḷu pu:ra po:puṇu* 'all the diseases of his body go away'

6.8.5. ABLATIVE

According to Shankara Bhat (1967:85), the ablative suffix is *-tti* which has a variant form *-ti* after certain nouns belonging to the first set of nouns and after neuter singular pronouns which are ending in *-y*.

267) *a uggeli-tti a:kḷu oñji ceṇḍini getteri* 'they removed a ball from that well'

267a) *suda:me krisna illa-tti pida:dye* 'Sudama started from the house of Krishna'

267b) *kay-ti* 'from the hand'

267c) *ay-ti* 'from it'

According to Ramachandra Rao (1966:51), the ablative allomorphs are *-tti* and *-ntu* in the Brahmin dialect (BTu.) and *-ddi* in the Common Tulu (CTu.). In Brahmin Tulu, *-ntu* occurs after the neuter noun stems with final *-a* which is alternating with *-o* and the variant *-tti* occurs elsewhere.

		B.Tu	C.Tu	
268)	*kanda* 'field'	*kando-ntu*	*kando-ddi*	'from the field'
268a)	*sonta* 'hip'	*sonto-ntu*	*sonto-ddi*	'from the hip'
268b)	*mara* 'tree'	*mara-tti*	*mara-ddi*	'from the tree'

Brigel gives *-dudu* as the ablative suffix and he calls this case as ablative/instrumental. (1872:11)

269) *a:y-a-dudu* 'from him'

Shankara Bhat also gives examples for the use of the ablative suffix in the instrumental sense. (1967:92).

270) *kañji-tti ja:do guna* 'What is the use of a calf?'

270a) *ninna-tti ja:do ampare sa:dya undu* 'What is possible to be done by You?'

Brigel refers to the use of this suffix in the comparative sense (1872:122).

271) *kudre kattedudu malle* 'the horse is better than the ass'

6.8.6. LOCATIVE

The locative allomorphs are *-ṭi*, *-ṭu*, *-ḍi*, and *-aṭi*. The suffix is *-ṭu* in the Brahmin dialect. *-ṭi* occurs after the first set of nouns and with the singular demonstrative pronouns, *-ṭu* after the second set of nouns, *-ḍi* after the third set of nouns and also with the oblique bases of plural pronouns and *-aṭi* occurs after the personal singular pronouns.

272) *ca:* 'tea' *ca:-ṭi* 'in the tea'

272a) *mara* 'tree' *mara-ṭi* 'in the tree'

272b) *vastra* 'cloth' *vastroṇ-ṭu* 'in the cloth'

272c) *e:ni* 'I' *en-aṭi* 'on me'

272d) *ninkḷu* 'you' *ninkḷ-e-ḍi* 'in you' (Pl.)

272e) *kañji-ḍi puḷu a:tni* 'worms have grown on the calf'

272f) *oñji u:ru-ḍi oñji ajji itni* 'In a village there was an old woman'

Bhat has noted another allomorph *-ḷu* after the nouns *illi* 'house' and *e:pa* 'when' (*Ibid*: 86, 89).

273) *illo-ḷu* 'in the house'

273a) *e:pa-ḷi* 'when' (Loc.)

The locative suffix is also found to be used in the sense 'among', by the time, adverb of manner and the instrumental.

274) (Among.) *e:li je:vu ba:ruḷeḍi a:ji je:vu ba ruḷeni* 'six daughters among the seven daughters' (Bhat.)

275) *i: tingoḷoḍi kelasa mugapuḍu* 'work will be finished by this month'

276) *pe:rini pu:ra a:yane gaḍḍi-ḍi paro:ntitte* 'he was himself drinking all the milk nicely' (Bhat)

277) *a:ḷu a: ro:gu:ḍu ti:rudu po:yalu* 'she died of that illness' (Brigel)

6.8.7. VOCATIVE

The locative morpheme has the allomorphs *a*, *e*, *E* and *o*. *-a* occurs after nominal bases ending in *-e*, *-e* after the bases ending in *-i* or *-a*, -E after bases of the type (C)CVC ending in *-u* and also after the plural suffix and *-o* occurs after the other nominal bases ending in *-u*.

278) *ajje* 'grandfather' *ajja* 'Oh! grandfather'

278a) *ajji* 'grandmother' *ajjiye* 'Oh! grandmother'

278b) *simma* 'lion' *simmane* 'Oh! lion'

278c) *arasuḷu* 'kings' *arasuḷE* 'Oh! kings'

278d) *arasu* 'king' *araso* 'Oh! king'

278e) *iñci bala kañji-y-e* 'come here, calf!'

6.9. Telugu

The data is taken mostly from Mahadeva Sastri, 1969.

6.9.1. ACCUSATIVE

The suffixes recorded in OTe. are *-n*, *-nu*, *-ni* and *-(n)in*.

279) *co:ḻan-in je:koni ka:ce...* 'having taken into protection, he protected the Chola'

279a) *pa:ṟa-nu* 'brahmin' (Acc.)

279b) *ba:rana:si-n* 'Varnasi'

279c) *a:ḷi-ni* 'wife'

The addition of the accusative suffix is obligatory only with the animate nouns.

6.9.2. INSTRUMENTAL

The suffixes are *-nan* and *-n* in OTe.

280) *ra:cama:nambu-nan e:bha:di* 'fifty by the royal measure'

280a) *a:t ma:numatambu-nam* 'by his own will'

280b) *artti-n* 'with the desire'

Even from the 7th century, the postposition *ce:ta(n)* which is the instrumental form *ce:yi* 'hand' is also used to express instrumental meaning.

281) *gaṇḍara mutra:ju vaidumbuḷa ce:tam baṭṭam kaṭṭabaḍi* 'Gandara Mutra:ju having been appointed by the Vaidumbas'

6.9.3. SOCIATIVE

-to:, *tol̤an*, *-tol̤i*, *-to:n* and *-to:ḍa* are used in OTe. inscriptions to denote the sociative sense. *l̤* in *to:l̤an* and *to:l̤i* changes into *-ḍ-* in literary Telugu.

282) *samatta paḍuva-to: bo:ya koṭṭambbul....goni* 'having taken the forts of the Boya (tribe) with all the army'

282a) *viṣṇuvarddhanu-to:n arddha ra:jyambu se:yucunna kusuma:yudhu pedda koḍuku* 'the elder son of Kusuma:yudha who is ruling half of the kingdom along with Viṣṇuvarddhana'

282b) *ra:manibhuni-to:ḻan eḍarina bo:yalan* 'the Boyas who along with the man equal to Rama rose against. . .'

282c) *noḻambi-to:ḻi* 'with Noḻambi'

282d) *co:ḍula-to:ḍa poḍici* 'having fought with the Co:ḍas'.

These postpositions when added to the abstract noun express the adverb of manner.

283) *va:ḍu ko:pam-to: peḷḷa:nni hoṭṭe:ḍu* 'he has beaten (his) wife with anger' (NTe.)

6.9.4. DATIVE

The suffixes are *-ku(n)* and *-ki(n)*. *-ki(n)* occurs after the stems ending in *-i* and *-ku(n)* elsewhere *-ku(n)* has another alternant *-ku:n* in the early inscriptions.

284) *koṭṭambuna pa:ṟa-ku kuṇḍika:ḷḷu iccina pannasa* 'kuṇḍika:ḷḷu granted pannasa to a brahmin of koṭṭambu'

284a) *lo:ke:śvara bhaṭarala-kun . . . ka:ṭicerevuluyicciri* '(someone) made a gift of ka:ṭiceruvulu to the God Lo:ke:śvara'

284b) *iśere:ni-kin* 'to Iśre:n'

The dative suffix can be used to express purposive, locative and genitive.

285) (Purp.) *candra:dityunṟu pasula-ku poḍici* 'candraditya having fought for the sake of cattle.'

286) (Loc.) *koñcamu se:paṭi-ki vasta:nu* 'I will come in a little time' (Arden)

286a) *ko:mali ni:-k anurakta* 'the woman is loving you (lit. woman to you loving)'

287) (Gen.) *na:ku tammuḍu* 'my brother'

287a) *va:ri-ki muṭṭu* 'officer under (lit. of) them'

It is to be noted here that the native grammarians like Ketana and Peddana have considered these suffixes as genitive also. However, in the literary Telugu, for instance in Kuma:ra sambhavamu, out of 900 instances of *-kun*, only 11 instances are found in the genitive sense. (Mahadeva Sastri, 1969:166)

The purposive meaning is conveyed by the postposition *poṇṭhe* in the 10th century inscription and *poṇṭen* in the early literature.

288) *para:paka:rambu poṇṭhe* 'for the purpose of helping others'

288a) *budhalo:kahitamu poṇṭen* 'for the benefit of the scholarly word'

6.9.4. ABLATIVE OF MOTION

The suffix is *uṇḍi* in OTe. and *ninci* in NTe. In the early inscription, *uṇḍi* is added to the locative form.

289) *ce:bro:lan-uṇḍi bejava:ḍa ja:traku vacci* 'he having come from ce:bro:lu for the festival'

289a) *ka:ya ceṭṭunci paḍindi* 'the fruit fell from the tree'

6.9.5. GENITIVE

The oblique form itself can be used as genitive form mostly. However, *a(du)* is found after personal and reflexive pronouns.

290) *na:(du)* < **nana-(du)* 'my'

290a) *mana(du)* 'our'

290b) *tanadu* 'of one self'

6.9.6 LOCATIVE

The suffixes are *-a(n)*, *-andu* and *-ni* and they are used only with inanimate nouns.

291) *maṟṟalu:r-a banna:sa prasa:da:ñ ce:si icciri*
'(someone) granted a pannasa at Marralu:ru'

291a) *paḍumaṭ-an* 'in the west'

291b) *u:ḍl-andu* 'in the village'

291c) *ba:raṇasi-ni śri parvvatambunn aḻisinava:ru* 'one who destroyed Sri Parvattam in the Varanasi'

Mahadeva Sastri (1969:165) thinks that *-an* primarily belongs to the locative and that its usage in the instrumental and the ablative is secondary.

The postposition *lo:n(a)* < **uḷ-an(a)* 'inside' is used to express the pure location.

292) *a:ji lo:n* 'in the battle'

292a) *kayyambu-lo:na* 'in the fight'

6.9.7. VOCATIVE

The vocative is formed by (1) the addition of the suffix *-a:/a* after the noun ending in *-u*, (2) the lengthening of the stem final vowel optionally elsewhere.

293) *ra:mũḍ-a:* }
293a) *ra:mũḍ-a* } 'Oh! Rama'

294) *hari:* 'Oh! Hari~hari'

294a) *vidha~vidha:ta* 'Oh! Vidha:ta'

a:ra:/a:ra occurs after the plural nouns.

295) *khacaro:ttamul-a:ra* 'Oh! best of the Gods'

o:/o can also be added before a noun to form the vocative. Similarly *o:yi* before masculine nouns and *o:ri* before human plural and *o:si* before feminine nouns can also be added.

296) *o: ra:mãḍa* }
296a) *o ra:mũḍa* } 'Oh! Rama'
296b) *o:yi ra:ma:* }

296c) *o:si pilla:/pille* Oh! child'

296d) *o:ri ra:kṣasubra* 'Oh! demour'

6.10. Gondi

6.10.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative case allomorphs are - Ø and *-u:n*. -Ø occurs after the oblique suffix *-n-* and *-u:n* elsewhere.

297) *pe:ṟa:l-n-Ø > pe:ṟa:-n* 'boy' (Acc.)

297a) *bayye:-n-Ø > bayye:n* 'mother' (Acc.)

297b) *ko:nda:-t-u:n* 'ox' (Acc.)

297c) *ḍuvva:l + d + u:n > ḍuvvaṛu:n* 'tiger' (Acc.)

297d) *tara:su:n* 'snake' (Acc.)

In some dialects, these suffixes are used in the dative case too. When the object is inanimate, the addition of the accusative suffix is optional.

297e) *ka:ya: koyya:* 'pluck the fruit'

6.10.2. DATIVE

The dative case suffix is *-k*. As mentioned above, *u:n* is also used in some dialects.

298) *mu:ra:-t-k* 'to the cow'

298a) *vo:r na:ku: kotta:n̄* 'he gave the money'

299) *na:k-u:n ḍuggu:r* '(he) is greater than me'

6.10.3. INSTRUMENTAL/LOCATIVE

The suffix is *-e:*. It occurs with all the nouns except *ro:n* 'house' where *-∅* allomorph occurs.

300) *kay-d-e:* 'with the hand'

300a) *ru:si:n-e:* 'with the knives'

300b) *na:r-t-e: > na:ṭe* 'in the village'

300c) *nanna: kayṭa:te: tara: su:n pa:to:n* 'I beat the snake with a stick'

301) *vo:r ro:n sillor* 'he is not in the house'

The postposition *-agga:* 'near' occurs after pronouns and human nouns.

301a) *vo:n agga:* 'with him'

6.10.4. ABLATIVE

The ablative case allomorphs are *–na:l* after *na:r* 'village' and *–a:l* elsewhere.

302) *na:r–t–na:l* > *na:ṭna:l* 'from the village'

302a) *kuhi:-t–a:l* > *kuhi:ta:l* 'from the well'

302b) *de:s–n–a:l* > *de:sna:l* 'from the country'

302c) *nimme: ni:va na:ṭna:l banṭi: va:ti:* 'when did you (sg.) come from your village '

6.10.5. GENITIVE

The genitive case allomorphs are *–na:* after the noun *na:r* 'village', *-va:* after the personal and the reflexive pronouns and *–a:* elsewhere.

303) *na:r–t–na:* > *na:ṭna:* 'of the village'

303a) *na:-va:* 'my'

303b) *mi:–va:* 'your' (Pl.)

303c) *kalle: -n–a* 'of the thief'

303d) *kuhi: –t–a:* 'of the well'

6.11. Koya

6.11.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative allomorphs are *-ini, –ni* and *–i* (Tyler, 1969:53). *–ni* occurs after the oblique suffix *–in* which is preceded by the personal pronouns; *–i* after all other oblique forms ending in *-in* and *-ini* elsewhere.

304) *ko:rk-ini paddi:ni te:yito:ru* 'they will bring cocks and pigs'

304a) *pantulini pelli arte* 'she married a school master'

304b) *ma: talli ma:min-ni viḍipisa* 'our mother releases us'

304c) *o:ṇḍu-in-ni* > *o:ninni* 'him' (Acc.)

304d) *meṭṭa-t-ini* > *meṭṭa:tini* 'mountain' (Acc.)

According to Subrahmanyam (1968a:118), the accusative suffix is *-in*.

305) *kar-d-in* 'cock' (Acc.)

305a) *ka:ka:-t-in* 'crow' „

6.11.2. INSTRUMENTAL / LOCATIVE

The suffix is *-e*. It denotes either the location 'in', 'inside' or the instrumentality 'by' or 'with'.

306) *ka:yk-in-e* 'in the hands'

306a) *ku:si:ṭ-e* 'in the curry'

306b) *na:hk-in-e* 'in the villages'

307) *goḍḍe:li:-t-e* 'with an axe'

According to Subrahmanyam (1968a:119), *-i* is also found for this case after the oblique suffixes *-n* and *-in*.

308) *a:ka:n-i* 'with/in the leaves'

308a) *gu:ḍ-in-i* 'in the nest'

Tyler has pointed out that (1969:54) "*-e* does not occur with kin terms, nouns denoting humans, nor personal pronouns with the exception of the third person neuter

singular and plural. Instrumentality in these cases is expressed by *-ka:yde* 'with hand' following the genitive suffix. Location (of these nouns) is expressed by various post positions.

309) *o:ni ka:yde* 'by him'

310) *o:ni lo:pala* 'inside him'

311) *o:ni agga* 'near him'

6.11.3. SOCIATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL

The sociative/instrumental suffix is *–to:ṇṭe* (Tyler 1969: 54).

312) *na:-t–o:ṇṭe* 'along with me'

312a) *kasseṭo:ṇṭe* 'with a knife'

Subrahmanyam gives the form *-to:n* (1968a:121) with the sociative meaning alone.

313) *na:-to:n* 'with me'

6.11.4. DATIVE

According to Subrahmanyam, the dative suffix is *–k*. But Tyler gives three dative allomorphs (1969:53). (1) *-ku* occurs after the oblique forms of the first and second person singular and plural pronouns, (2) *-iki* after the oblique allomorphs *-ṭ*, *-d*, and in the singular after the oblique allomorph *–n* and (3) *-ki* elsewhere.

314) *anna:n–k* 'to the elder brother' (Subrahmanyam)

314a) *mutte:n–k* 'to the wife'

314b) *agga da:yana:n-ki na:ku isṭam ille* 'It is not liking to me for going there' (Tyler).

314c) *a:pel-d-iki vatto:ṇḍu* 'he came for that marraige' (Tyler, 1969:105)

It is also used in the purposive sense.

315) *endana:n-ki vatto:ṇḍu* 'he came for dancing' (Tyler, P. 105)

315a) *lo:hk-in-ki gaḍḍi ko:ysi,* ... 'having cut the grass for houses...'

6.11.5. ABLATIVE

The ablative suffix *-kunci* is found in both the grammars. Tyler has additionally given two more allomorphs *-ka:si* and *-nunci* and observed that *-kunci* and *-nunci* are borrowings from Telugu.

316) *bajja:r-t-ka:si* 'from the bazzar'

316a) *aḍivi-t-kunci* 'from the forest'

316b) *gubba:l-t-nunci* 'from the hillock'

316c) *ma:talli ma:minni i: ro:ga:t-kunci viḍipisa* 'our mother releases us from this disease' (Tyler).

-nunci can also occur after the locative suffix.

316d) *lo:-t-e-nunci* 'from/in the house'

6.11.6. GENITIVE

The genitive suffix is *-a*. Tyler gives three allomorphs for the genitive case (1969:52). (1) *-ini* occurs after nouns denoting female or ending in *-a:ḍi*, (2) *-i* after the stems forming the oblique with *-in* and (3) *-a* elsewhere.

317) *akka:na* 'of the elder sister' (Subrahmanyam)

317a) *mari:na* 'of the son'

317b) *mallu-t-a* > *malda* 'peacock's' (Tyler)

318) *tappe-in-i* > *tappe:ni* 'father's' (Tyler)

318a) *mayya:ḍi-t-ini* > *mayyaṭini* 'daughter's' (Tyler)

6.12. Konda

6.12.1. ACCUSATIVE / DATIVE

The accusative/dative suffixes are *-ñi* after the 1st and 2nd person pronouns and *-ṅ* elsewhere.

319) (Acc.) *nukṛi-di-ṅ-ṛia:* 'beat that dog'

319a) *aya guruve-ṅ osiṇar* 'they are bringing that Guru'

320) (Dat.) *ḍokri ḍokre-ṅ veRtad* 'the old woman said to the old man'

320a) *koṛordi-ṅ-bitek-di-ṅ sitar* 'they gave the child to Bitck'

It also occurs in the causative, purposive, locative and 'among' (Krishnamurti, 1969:254).

321) (Cau.) *bana-di-ṅ...ka:p kita maRar* 'they had been waiting for me from (an account of) hunger'

321a) *paṇku baru-di-ṅ de:ʔeṇḍa* 'in order that it would not float because of the weight of the stone'

322) (Pur.) *bu:ḍ-di-ṅ sona* 'I go for a bath'

322a) *moyen-a-ṅ gaḍad sonaṭ* 'let us go to the river for fish'

323) (Loc.) *palna na:ṇḍi-ń...mosop kiṇad* 'on a certain day clouds will form'

323a) *oṇṭ gaṇṭa-di-ń pu:za kinaṭ* 'let us do worship at 1 O'clock'

324) (Among) *ayduguru marisir-iń na:ʔer negikar* 'of the five sons, four were good ones (healthy ones)'

324a) *na-ñi* 'to me'

325a) *mi-ñi* 'to you (pl.)'etc.

In the case of non-human nouns the accusative suffix is optional.

326) *ṛe:to ṛista* 'I released the crab'

326a) *anam uṇʔa* 'eat food'

The postposition *-vandiń* is also used to denote the purposive sense.

327) *ya:ka na:-vandiń e tasi maRad* 'she has brought it only for my sake'

6.12.2. SOCIATIVE

The sociative suffix is *-vale.* This is interpreted by Bhattacharya (1956:22) as *-v-* the glide and *-ale* the real sociative suffix. Krishnamurti (1969:261) considers this as a postposition.

328) *koṛodi-vale saña:* 'go with the box'

328a) *ma: a:gaspu:rtu ma:-vale batkipir* 'let you live with us in out Agaspur'

6.12.3. INSTRUMENTAL/ABLATIVE

The suffix is *-an* which is sometimes followed by *-ḍ*. (Bhattacharya, 1956:22).

329) (Inst.) *kuṛam-t-an koya:* 'cut with an axe'

330) (Abl.) *mara-t-an artat* 'fell from the tree'

But Krishnamurti gives *-anḍ* as the suffix for this case.

331) (Inst.) *ya: paned-anḍ ḍu:say a:pir* 'let them comb their hair with this comb'

331a) *patinam gunḍud-anḍ eRnan* 'he would shoot birds with pellets'

332) (Abl.) *aya samramd-anḍ piṟu pa:listad* 'from that year on, it continued to rain'

332a) *a:gasamd-anḍ mu:lu ḍiptan* 'he dropped out a thread from the sky'

Krishnamurti has given another ablative suffix *-ñ* which is added to the genitive - oblique stems ending in *-ṇi*. (1969:258).

333) *abeṇi-ñ va:nṟu dinami gaḍad sonan* 'from then on, daily, he would go to the river'

333a) *inṟoṇi-ñ maṟi ayli koṟok anam tate* 'then the women folk brought food from the house'

The instrumental ablative case is used rarely in the plural nouns (Krishnamurti, 1969:258).

Bhattacharya (1956:23) points out that the suffix *-an* is also used to express the locative and directive (dative) senses.

334) (Loc) *ni:-v-an vata* 'I have come to you'

334a) (Dir.) *na:v-an inta ta:ti* 'what have you brought to me'

6.12.4. GENITIVE

The oblique suffixes *-ti/-di/-Ri*, *-a* and *-i* are found to be used as genitive markers in most of the instances (Krishnamurti, 1969:252).

335) *kusa-di e:ṟu* 'boiled water of vegetables'

335a) *ṟeka-di kelu* 'father of king'

335b) *goṟo-ti koṇḍa de:vuṇ(ḍ)* 'the Koṇḍa God of hills'

335c) *paṟmeṭi veṟe-Ri mosop* 'the clouds of the west'

336) *vank-a a:ram* 'their (non-mas. pl.) food'

336a) *ruṇḍi ka:lk-a muveṅ* 'anklet of the two legs'

337) *anar-i na:ṭo sonsina* 'I am going into my brother's village'

337a) *ver-i inṟo va:tar* 'they came to their house'

-ṇi occurs as the genitive suffix after the stems *ilu* 'house' and *na:ṟu* 'village' and also with three adverbial nouns denoting place.

338) *inṟo-ṇi* 'of the house'

338a) *na:ṭo-ṇi* 'of the village'

338b) *abe* 'there' *abe-ṇi* 'of that place'

A limited number of plural nouns in the oblique also take *-ṇi*.

339) *ra:s–k-a–ṇi* 'belonging to kings'

Some genitive forms in *-ṇi* seem to denote a special type of genitive, with the relation of 'possession' and 'location' combined in one.

340) *inṟo–ṇi savkari* 'the merchant in and of the house'

340a) *e:ru goṟok–a–ṇi namil poṭin* 'the peacocks of (living on) the seven hills'

6.12.5. LOCATIVE

The locative suffixes are added directly to the nominative forms. The suffixes are (1) *-ṭo*/*-ṟo* occurs after a few stems like *ilu* 'house', *na:ṟu* 'village' and *solu* 'fire place' (2) *-i* after the stems ending in *–m* and (3) *-t(u)*/*-d(u)*/*-R(u)* elsewhere.

341) *unṟi na:–ṭo soRad* 'it went into a village'

342) *in–ṟo soRan* 'he went into the house'

343) *sa:lam-i noṟes maRad* 'in the cave, there was a tiger'

343a) *ṟe:kam–i to:lu vaRisna* 'I shall dry the sky on the front roof'

344) *guḍedi gaṭ–tu aysi niRad* 'the mother stood on the ridge of the field'

344a) *mara–t-ektan* 'he climbed (on) the tree'

344b) *ḍokri gusil-du bastad* 'the older woman sat on a stump'

344c) *gaḍa-d ḍigitad* 'it got into the water'

344d) *unṟi pi:ngu naḍi-R(u) iḍtan* 'he put a corpse in the middle of the house'

-*i* is found to be used optionally after some nouns.

345) *kova ra:zu paṭṇam (-i) piṟu siled* 'there is no rain in the city of the Kova king'. In the case of plural nouns the locative case form is identical with the accusative / dative and it is used rarely.

346) *ya: paṅkuṅ-a-ṅ nilsi ma: aṅar e:ṟu iybapir izi....* 'thinking that my brothers will stand on these stones and take a bath...'

There are some postpositions occurring in the locative sense.

347) *sa:lam·loʔi* 'in the cave'

348) *mi:bubari-ban e maʔa* 'stay at your father's place'

The locative suffix also denotes the sense 'near'.

349) *sisu-d basti maRin* 'as they sat near the fire'. It is also used to express the instrumental meaning, and directive sense (with verb of motion).

350) *zutu-d astan* 'he caught (the horse) by its mane'

350a) *a:gaspu:r-tu sonsi* 'having gone into Agaspur'

6.13. Kui

6.13.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative suffix is -*i*

351) *tanji ta:ṟa mri:eni-i sahtenju* 'the father thrashed his son'

351a) *veska gaṭanju mrahnu-tin-i katitenju* 'the wood man cut down the tree'

The accusative case sign is often omitted if the noun is neuter and the object is inferred from the context(Winfield, 1928:27). But Burrow and Bhattacharya (1961:128) has observed that the accusative seemed to be rarely used except in the case of masculine nouns.

The accusative suffix is also used to denote the indirect object (or the dative sense) after some verbs such as *vespa* 'to speak' *inba* 'to say' *to:nja* 'to appear to'; *to:spa* 'to show' *bargi si:va* 'to give a command' (Winfield P. 32).

352) *a:nu e:ra ma:i aja-ni-i to:ste* 'I showed that to mother'

352a) *mi: mi:ḍakani-i vesdu* 'speak to your children'

352b) *a:nu earni-i bargi si:te* 'I gave him a command'

6.13.2. SOCIATIVE

Winfield uses the term 'associative' for this case.

The allomorphs are (1) *-ge* after the stem ending in a nasal and (2) *-ke* elsewhere.

353) *neganju* 'a good man' *negan-i-ke* 'with a good man'

353a) *aja* 'mother' *aja-n-ge* with the mother'

353b) *taḍisaka maruskange sasu* 'the mothers went with the daughters'

353c) *ma:-ke manjamu* 'stay with us'

6.13.3. DATIVE

The dative suffixes are (1) *-gi* after the stems ending in a nasal and (2) *-ki* elsewhere.

354) *a:ba-ki* 'to father'

354a) *aja-n-gi* 'to mother'

354b) *ko:ḍinga-ni-ki* 'to the cows'

354c) *neganju pa:nanakari-ki si:nenju* 'a good man will give to the poor'

354d) *ko:ḍi-tin-gi tinba si:mu* 'give food to the cow'

This is also used to denote the comparative sense.

355) *gule na:ju takari-ki a:nu pri:sa mananu* 'I am the tallest of all the villagers'

355a) *i: iḍu-tin-gi e:ri ga:psi negari* 'that house is better than this'

6.13.4. ABLATIVE

The ablative sense is expressed by many postpositions which are added to inflectional bases(Winfield, 1928:24). *-ṭi*, *-ki*, and *-ṛai* are some of those ablative postpositions which meant 'motion from or to'.

356) *eanju kuḍu-ṛai di:katenju* 'he fell down from the wall'

357) *a:nu bo:ga-ṛai gule ta: koṭki:* 'I will take every thing out of the basket'

-ṛai is also used in the causal sense.

358) *earu no:meri-ṛai sa:vai maseru* 'they were dying from fever'

In the dialect of Kuṭṭia kandhs, Burrow and Bhattacharya have recorded the form *ṛahi* for *ṛai* which is found to occur in the instrumental meaning.

359) *heni-ṛahi* 'with a razor'

6.13.5. GENITIVE

The oblique base of the nouns or the nominative form is used as the genitive form.

360) *mṛehenju* 'a man' *mṛeheni-* 'of the man'

360a) *aja* 'mother' *ajani-* 'of the mother'

360b) *a:ba* 'father' *a:ba-* 'of the father'

360c) *ko:ru* 'buffalo' *ko:ru-* 'buffalo's'

e:ri va:ja manani ṭangi 'this is the axe of the man who has come'

Singular possessive appellative suffix *-ti* and *-di* are sometimes used as genitive.

361) *ni:n-di kaju* 'your arm'

6.13.6. LOCATIVE

The locative sense is mostly expressed by the postpositions. There are a number of postpositions listed by Winfield (P. 24). However, with some nouns, the suffixes *-a*, *-ni* and *-nḍo* are also found to be used in the locative sense.

362) *a:mu e: iḍu-tani manji manamu* 'we are lodging in that house'

362a) *pi:ju ḍeli-tani pi:ju va:i duhne* 'the rain generally comes in the rainy season'

363) *paheri-a* 'in the road'

363a) *so:rka-ni* 'on the hills'

363b) *ketanga-nḍo* 'in the wet fields'

Winfield states that *-ni* is the shortened form of the locative postposition *-tani* (1928:28).

Burrow and Bhattacharya (1961:128) said that *-ta* is commonly found as locative suffix in Kui of *Kuṭṭia* Kandhs.

364) *ḍeḍi-ta* 'on a tree'

364a) *neppi-ta* 'on the shoulder'

6.13.7. VOCATIVE

There are two sets of vocative allomorphs (1) *-ti*~*-ḍi* occurs after the singular nouns and (2) *-teru*~*-ḍeru* with plural nouns. In these *-ḍi* and *-ḍeru* occur after stems ending in a nasal and *-ti* and *-teru* elsewhere.

A noun in the vocative is often, but not always, preceded by the exclamation *o:-* or *e-*.

365) *a:ba* 'father' *a:bati* 'Oh! father' *a:bagan-ḍeru* 'Oh! fathers'

365a) *aja* 'mother' *ajan-di* 'Oh! mother' *ajasan-ḍeru* 'Oh! mothers'

366) *o: kṛa:ḍi-ti* 'Oh! tiger'

366a) *o: mṛeheni-ti, i:nu va:mu* 'Oh! man, you come'

6.14. Kuvi

6.14.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative suffix is *-i*.

367) *mṛeha-ʔ-i* 'man' (Acc.)

367a) *mṛehaṅa-ṇ-i* 'men' „

367b) *kaḍḍa-t-i* 'river' „

The use of accusative suffix is optional except in the case of characterised masculine nouns.

368) *na:nu ilu vigite'ẽ* 'I thatched my house'

368a) *hiccu ḍupdu* 'put of the fire'

6.14.2. DATIVE

The suffix is *-ki*.

369) *aya-na-ki* 'to the woman'

369a) *mṛeha-ki* 'to the man'

This can be used to denote the causative.

370) *karata-ki vali ṛaya hacce* 'the stone has split on account of the heat'

6.14.3. INSTRUMENTAL

The instrumental is expressed by the postposition *-tole*.

371) *he:por-tole he:pamu* 'sweep with broom'

6.14.4. ABLATIVE

The ablative case occurs only with certain neuter nouns. The allomorphs are *-ṭi* and *-ki*. *-ṭi* occurs after the neuter singular nouns and *-ki* after the plural nouns.

372) *kaḍḍa-ṭi* 'from the river'

373) *kaḍḍaṅa-ki* 'from the rivers'

In the case of masculine, feminine and names of animals (i.e. animate nouns) the postposition *-haʔa* is added before the ablative suffix *-ṭi*.

374) *mireṅa-ha'a-ṭi* 'from the son'

6.14.5. GENITIVE

The genitive suffix is *-i*.

375) *mṛeha-t-i* 'of the man'

375a) *aya-n-i* 'of the woman'

375b) *kaḍḍaṅa-t-i* 'of the rivers'

6.14.6. LOCATIVE

The suffix *-a* is added to the neuter nouns only.

376) *kaḍḍa-t-a* 'in the river'

376a) *kaḍḍaṅa-ṇ-a* 'in the rivers'

-o is also used as locative with a limited number of nouns.

377) *il* 'house' : *ijo* 'in the house'

377a) *na:yu* 'village' : *na:ṭo* 'in the village'

The postposition *-tara* is used to express the locative sense after the human and animate nouns.

378) *mireña tara* 'near the son'

6.15. Pengo

6.15.1. ACCUSATIVE / DATIVE

The suffixes are *-aṅ* after the plural nouns and *-iṅ* elsewhere.

379) *keyku-k-aṅ* 'hands' (Acc./Dat.)

379a) *ṭonḍen-iṅ* 'brother' „

379b) *key-d-iṅ* 'hand' „

380) (Acc.) *nekur-t-iṅ pe:zaṭ* 'drive away the dog'

380a) *rinḍek koglek-aṅ na:ṭo huṛtan* 'I saw two women in the village'

381) (Dat.) *o:ḍa-t-iṅ rinḍan komon* 'a goat has two horns (lit. to a goat there are two horns)'

381a) *idaṅ ma: ṭonḍen-iṅ hiyaṭ* 'give this to our brother'

Other senses expressed by this suffix are 1) causal 2) locative 3) through 4) comparative and 5) genitive.

382) (Cau.) *pi:ni-iṅ cikaṇ ṭakra gaccat* 'the oil has solidified on account of the cold'

382a) *a:ha-t-iṅ hunjvatan* 'he did not sleep for greed'

383) (Loc.) *puni-t-iṅ vaḍu* 'come on the full-moon day'

383a) *ceyt le:c-iṅ pu:ja a:naka* 'in the month Ceyt religious worship takes place'

384) (Through) *o:ha:r haẓ-d-iṅ hanas* 'we will go by the wide road (mainroad)'

385) (Comp.) *na: inj-iṅ ni: il gajaṭi* 'your house is bigger than mine'

386) (Gen.) *e: buṛh-iṅ ja:l* 'that old man's net'

386a) *gaja bi:m-aṅ nenja ḍakito* 'on the chest of big Biṁa (pl.)'

6.15.2. INSTRUMENTAL / ABLATIVE

The suffix is *-aṅ*.

387) *ba:ḍaytiṅ joyl-t-aṅ pistar* 'they released the carpenter from jail'

387a) *na:ṛis-t-aṅ kaṁay kitaṅ* 'I have worked since morning'

The postposition *-na:ṭaṅ* is also used to express the ablative sense.

388) *homba:r na:ṭaṅ maṅan* 'I am here since Monday'

389) (Inst.) *vil-t-aṅ eccar koyhiṅ* 'they shot their sister with an arrow'

389a) *rinḍaṅ keyku-t-aṅ peẓa* 'pick it up with your two hands'

The instrumental sense is also expressed by the postpositions *-hudaṅ*, *-lahaṅ* and *-hoke*.

390) *na:li-hudaṅ mro:ldiṅ ḍipnaṅ* 'I will shoot a hare with the gun'

390a) *a:neṅ muṭla-lahaṅ* 'I smashed with a hammer'

390b) *ṭeṅgiya-hoke katkanan* 'I will cut with axe'

6.15.3. SOCIATIVE

The sociative meaning is expressed by the postpositions *-hoke* and *-hudaṅ*.

391) *koglek-hoke ke:rkaha:tap* 'we sang together with the women'

391a) *kahra:ti ko:ḍi-hudaṅ hacat* 'she went with the black cow'

6.15.4. GENITIVE

The genitive allomorph is *-i*.

392) *i: de:st-i raja* 'the king of this country'

392a) *ka:ld-i pṛe:n* 'bone of the leg'

-r is also occasionally used as the genitive marker.

393) *raja-r huvaṛ* 'the king's country yard'

6.15.5. LOCATIVE

The locative suffixes are *-o* after the singular nouns and *-aṅ* after plural nouns.

394) *na:ni tu:ptar guḍi-t-o* 'they kindled a fire in the assembly hut'

394a) *dara-t-o vizar muncar* 'all plunged in the stream'

395) *ṛuka-k-aṅ hezi kinaka* 'catching in snares'

395a) *ri keyku-k-aṅ assi* 'having taken in the two hands'

The locative suffix is also denoting the sense of 'directive' only when it occurs with the verbs of movement.

396) *ukha a:gedeṅ na:guṛ-t-o hacar* 'they went to the river to sport'

396a) *a:neṅ a:ṭ-t-o hanjeṅ man kinaṅa* 'I have a mind to go to the market'

The postposition *ta:ke* is also used to express the locative sense especially after human nouns.

397) *hala bopa gaja na:na-ta:ke* 'go, my boy, to the elder sister'

6.16. Kolami

6.16.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative allomorphs are *-n* and *-un*. *-n* occurs after any noun ending in a vowel, or *-l*, *-r*, or *-v* except for monosyllables ending in *-r* and *-v* and *-un* elsewhere.

398) *ella-n* 'house' (Acc.)

398a) *ma·sur-n* 'men' „

398b) *keḍiakev-n* 'tigers' „

398c) *ko·lavan-un* 'kolam man' (Acc.)

398d) *tam ba·n-un ennen* 'he said to his father'

There are many instances where the accusative suffix is absent but 'no reason has been discovered for the presence or absence of the accusative case.' (Emeneau, 1961:114).

6.16.2. INSTRUMENTAL

The suffixes are *-aḍ* after the noun bases ending in a consonant and *-naḍ* elsewhere.

399) *inn-aḍ ta·na anne penḍli kakud eretin* 'my marriage could not be made by you at all'

399a) *ann-aḍ si·uḍ eda* 'it will be possible for me to give'

399b) *gellin-aḍ goḍḍan* 'I shot with the bow'

6.16.3. DATIVE

The dative allomorphs are *-ṅ* after any nouns ending in a vowel and *-uṅ* elsewhere.

400) *avar-uṅ inam si·atun* 'I will give them a reward'

The suffix also occurs in the instrumental, comparative, purposive and locative senses.

401) (Inst.) *ad an-aṅ opaṭin* 'I found it' (Lit. – it by me – found)

402) (Comp.) *im ma·s amd-uṅ peris ovol anḍan* 'this man is better than that man'

Here the dative suffix is followed by the postposition.

403) (Purp.) *in-uṅ saṭṭi ke·dit turast anḍat* 'for your sake I have thrust him into prison'

404) (Loc.) *ba·lan pamme-ṅ aṭiptin* 'she put (lit. stuck) the child to her breast'

6.16.4. ABLATIVE OF MOTION

The suffix is *-tanaṭ*.

405) *amd u·r-tanaṭ vatten* 'he came from the village'

It is also used with the meaning of 'through'.

406) *podelat kiḍki-tanaṭ gurrumun turusten* 'he put the horse (i.e. caused the horse to enter) through the upper window'

A few nouns take *-nattaṭ* as the ablative suffix. In all the examples found in the text only, the human nouns are found. *-naḍ* alone is found after some nouns.

407) *palane-nattaḍ vatten* 'he came from such-and-such a person'

408) *palane-naḍ vatten* 'he came from such-and-such a person'

6.16.5. GENITIVE

Emeneau has not discussed the genitive suffix separately. However, the suffixes which are considered by him as the derivative adjectives used in the sense of 'pertaining to' and 'belonging to' can be considered as the genitive suffixes. They are (1) *-e* after pronouns and some human nouns and (2) *-ne* after certain neuter nouns.

409) *ann-e* 'my'

409a) *vaḍg·n-e* 'of the carpenter'

409b) *kis-ne* (flame) of the fire'

6.16.6. LOCATIVE

The locative allomorphs are (1) *-t* following a singular noun and (2) *-eṅ* following a plural noun.

410) *ṭa·ka-t uṭṭen* 'he fell into the tank'

410a) *veṭṭiral veṭṭiak te·r-t maṅkter* 'the washerman's wife slept on a cot'

410b) *pa:l-t i·r kalaya* 'water is mixed into the milk'

411) *avr ma·sur ve·gaḍl-eṅ anḍar* 'these men are in the fields'

There are so many instances where *-t* occurs after the plural forms.

412) *ell ellakul-t* 'to house after house'

412a) *paksiakev komul-t utt anḍav* 'the birds are sitting on the branches'

Another set of locative suffix has the allomorphs (1) *-nadaṅ* after a singular noun form (the oblique stem in the personal pronoun) and (2) *-adaṅ* with a plural noun form. A few forms seem to have free variation between *-nadaṅ* and *-naṅ*. The exact meaning is not distinguishable but may perhaps mean to (or in) the neighbourhood rather than merely 'to'.

413) *an-nadaṅ* / *an-naṅ* 'to me'

413a) *ma·s-nadaṅ* 'to the man'

413b) *ma·sur-adaṅ* 'to the men'

413c) *paṭlak-nadaṅ* / *paṭlak-naṅ* 'to the headman'

413d) *a·n amnadañ pe·sal a·patun* 'I entrust the money to him'

6.17. Naiki (Chanda)

6.17.1. ACCUSATIVE

The allomorphs are (1) *-n* after a vowel and (2) *-un/-on* after a consonant.

414) *ko:nda-n pa:kkun tu:* 'drive away the bull beating'

414a) *cimni-n uṛap* 'make the bird fly'

414b) *pul-un vayktun* 'seeing the tiger'

414c) *mankyakul-on udpur* 'make the men sit'

In most of the instances, the addition of the accusative suffix is optional after neuter nouns.

415) *kavaṛ mustun vattan* 'I have come having shut the door'

415a) *kokke i:v ilupti* 'you tore the cloth'

6.17.2. DATIVE

The dative suffixes are *-n* and *-un*.

416) *po:rak-un si:yati* 'you will give (to) the boy'

416a) *avn-un a:n entar* 'I will tell him'

It is also used in the purposive and locative meanings.

417) *i:r-un se:* 'go for water'

The postposition *saṭṭi* ~ *sa:ṭi* can optionally be added after the dative to give the purposive meaning.

418) *i:r–un saṭṭi seratun* 'she is going for water'

418a) *e:r-un sa:ṭi kotti* 'for whom have you brought?

419) *erndḍ-k-un a:n seddan anḍan* 'I had gone last year' (Loc.)

6.17.3. INSTRUMENTAL/ABLATIVE

The suffix is *–la*.

420) *va:sla–la* 'with a scraper'

420a) *suri–la* 'with a knife'

420b) *ki:–la* 'with a hand'

421) *aṅgaṛ–la* 'from the market'

421a) *seṭpoṭ–la* 'from the top of the tree'

–le which is found in the p. 68 (Bhattacharya, 1961) should be taken as another ablative suffix and it denotes locative sense.

422) *ka:m inna:ṭ–le maḍḍelen* 'work will be finished in two days'

–aṛ is also used in the ablative sense after the demonstrative pronouns.

423) *ad–aṛ* 'from there'

423a) *id–aṛ* 'from here'

–tal is the another suffix used as the ablative.

423b) *por-tal* 'from the top'

6.17.4. SOCIATIVE

The postposition *-nokon* is used to indicate the sense of association.

424) *ane to:le-nokon* 'with my father'

424a) *ine maye-nokon go:ṭima:ṭi eḍun* (P. 96) 'I had a talk (lit. word) with your mother'

6.17.5. GENITIVE

The allomorphs are *-ne* and *-n* but the example for *-n* is not found.

425) *pul-ne tala* 'head of the tiger'

425a) *po:rak-ne ba:n* 'the boy's father'

-ne freely varies with *-e* after pronouns except neuter singular pronoun.

426) *an-ne/ane* 'me'

-e rarely occurs with other nouns also.

427) *ummel-e pa:k* 'wing of mosquito'

Another genitive suffix *-ta* expresses more precisely the idea of 'pertaining to'.

428) *apaṛt-ta savli* 'shade of the house'

428a) *ameu:r-ta o:p* 'God of our village'

The *-t-* of *-ta* is sometimes found to be cerebralized as a result of sandhi.

429) *ozgiṭ-ṭa ka:m* 'one day's work' < *ozgir* 'one day'

429a) *oko–ṭa go:ṭi* 'yesterday's utterance' < *okon* 'yesterday'

6.17.6. LOCATIVE

The locative allomorphs are *-in/-un/-en* and *-n*.

439) *kuḍḍ–in* 'on the wall'

430a) *u:r–un* 'in the village'

430b) *ki:lkul-en* 'in the hands'

430c) *khala-n* 'below'

430d) *id u:r–t-un erku lagit anter* 'the Naikis are quite numerous in this village'

430e) *ane ma:sane ki:-t-un erndi rupyagu ante* 'there are two rupees in my wife's hand'

This is also used to express dative meaning.

431) *port–un sertan* 'I am going to the hills'

The locative is also expressed by the postpositions *-lopun* added directly to the stems and *-kel* added to the genitive base.

432) *kucce-lopun* 'in the vegetable'

432a) *i:r–lopun* 'inside water'

432b) *ane-kel* 'towards the house'

432c) *apaṛe-kel* 'towards me'

6.18. Parji

6.18. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative allomorphs are (1) *-n* after noun stems ending in a vowel and (2) *-in* after a consonant (Burrow and Bhattacharya, 1953:21)

433) *ṭoḍunoḍ e:nu-n kaṭṭen* 'I tied the elephant with a rope'

433a) *e:nu manje-n cu:ṛoto* 'the elephant saw the man'

433b) *pa:p-in tittip* 'feed the child'

433c) *pa:v-in aṛñed* 'he crossed the road'

-in is in free variation with *-i* in certain nouns.

434) *a:n pall-in petten* 'I picked a fruit'

434a) *pall-i ca:k cu:ṛ* 'taste the fruit'

434b) *koṛol-i ciur* 'give the bride'

The examples given for the optional use of the accusative suffix by Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953:21) seem to suggest that it is optional only after inanimate nouns.

435) *a:n ok kel ṭinḍten* 'I threw a stone'

435a) *ni:r ender* 'bring water' etc.

6.18.2. INSTRUMENTAL / SOCIATIVE

The suffixes are (1) *-oḍ* after a consonant and (2) *-noḍ* after a vowel.

436) *ce:pid-oḍ añgoḍ aypur* 'sweep the courtyard with a brush'

436a) *guppen koḍke–noḍ erkiyam* 'we cut down the undergrowth with a bill-hook'

437) (Soc.) *o:n-oḍ polubti cenden* 'I went with him to the village'

437a) *inn–oḍ a:n bele cendan* 'I too will go with you'

6.18.3. DATIVE

The dative allomorphs are *-g* and *-ug* in the Northern dialect and *-ṅ* and *-uṅ* in the Southern dialect. *-g* and *-ṅ* occur after a consonant and *-ug* and *-uṅ* after a vowel.

438) *pa:p–ug pe:l unṭip* 'give the child a drink of milk'

438a) *o:n–uṅ vey ciyur* 'give him his dinner'

In addition to the directive meaning, the dative suffix occurs in the purposive, causal, instrumental and locative senses also.

439) (Purp.) *a:n ce:pid–ug veñen* 'I have come for the broom'

439a) *cen re kinḍik me:l–ug* 'go for a little liquor'

440) (Caus.) *nend–uṅ muṛkub pe:pmo* 'on account of the heat of the sun, sweat is coming out'

441) (Inst.) *nuṛñil–ug a:n tuñena* 'I did not sleep for mosquitos'

442) (Loc.) *ticer cenvar–ug* 'on the third Saturday'

It is also used to express the sense 'about'.

443) *im bolb–ug a:m u:buram* 'we will speak about your village'

It is to be noted that *-tug* and *-tun* which are considered to be ablative suffix by Burrow and Bhattacharya (1953:30) are really dative suffixes occurring in the ablative and comparative senses (see 460, 462).

6.18.4. GENITIVE

The main genitive suffixes are *–n/–in* and *–t/-to* and they are morphologically conditioned. *–to* is found as *–ta* in the Southern dialect. *-t-* is taken as the inflectional increment (see § 5.18.1).

444) *ko:c-in poraler* 'the king's peons'

444a) *ta:te–n pidir* 'name of the father'

444b) *tole–n cind* 'brother's son'

445) *muṭṭe-t ni:r* 'the water of the pot'

445a) *mer–to evul* 'leaves of the tree'

445b) *polub–ta pa:v* 'village path'

-a is also used as the genitive suffix in a few instances.

446) *mi:n-a ca:ka* 'fish bone'

446a) *pott–a to:l* 'the skin of the back'

In only one instance *–na* is used as the genitive suffix.

447) *pu:-na ce:pid* 'the brush made of flowering plant'

6.18.5. LOCATIVE

The most common locative suffix is *–i.*

448) *i: polub-t-i mēdad* 'he stays in this village'

448a) *evobi:ti–t–i cinoto* 'a leaf is stuck on the wall'

449) (Among) *i:mũ:du ba:ni benḍel–t–i ḍoyñkor benḍa tindam* 'among these three kinds of frogs we eat the ḍoyñkor frog'

It gives the directive meaning when co-occuring with verb of movements.

450) *cakurtol-ti cenda* 'she will go to the cattleshed'

450a) *a:n polub-ti veñen* 'I have come to the village'

It also expresses the ablative sense with verbs of motion.

451) *o:d mer–ti urked* 'he fell from the tree'

451a) *botte-ti pucced ellin* 'he pulled the rat from its hole'

Another suffix *-el* which can optionally be preceded by *k/t* and followed optionally by *–ti* also denotes the location.

452) *meram–el* 'in the jungle'

452a) *amm-el* 'among us'

452b) *kond–t–el* 'in the mountainous region'

452c) *meram-el–ti* 'in the jungle'

452d) *vedru-t-el-ti cendar* 'they will go to the region of the bamboos'

453) *va:ye-k-el* 'in the field'

Like *-ti*, this *-el* also denotes the directive sense with a verb of motion.

454) *an cindu va:yek-el cended* 'my son has gone to the field'

The locative suffixes mentioned above occur only with neuter nouns. The postposition *ka* and *kan* are used to denote locative sense mostly with human nouns and pronouns and less frequently with neuter nouns.

455) *bagavan-ka aru inka a:n pa:p ca:jen mēdan* 'I have done evil before God and before Thee'

455a) *ok savkarin-kan cender* 'they went to a rich man'

455b) *an-kan peru vercil cila* 'there is not much rice with me'

455c) *pillan-ka an vandet vat paṭṭo* 'my finger ring fell into a crack'

455d) *jama keril okti-kan kuṛayted* 'he heaped all the dried leaves in one place'

This postposition is sometime followed by the suffixes *-ṭi* and *-ṭa* and occurs in the ablative as well as sociative senses.

456) *manjen netir kurṭubin-kanṭi puccer* 'they extracted the man's blood from the leech'

456a) *murtalin-kanṭa koḍka pattur* 'get the billhook from the old woman'

457) *am-kanṭa mayil ete verara* 'why do not the husbands (who live) with us come?'

This postpositions *-kan* is also preceded by the genitive suffix *-to* and expresses the locative and ablative meanings.

458) *mer-to ka cokra* 'she will climb on to the tree'

459) *poluto-kan le pe:tai ge* 'they will go out from the village'

6.18.6. ABLATIVE

In addition to the above locative suffixes, the other suffixes like *-tug* in the Northern dialect and *-tuṅ* in the Southern dialect and *ar, arre* and *are* are used to denote the ablative of motion.

460) *il podi-tug iṛved* 'he came down from the roof'

461) *mi:n ni:r-are tirrata* 'a fish jumped out of the water'

461a) *evul mer-arre i:lomov* 'leaves are falling from the tree'

461b) *a:n kond-tar iṛiyaten* 'I descended from the mountain'

-tug is also used in the comparative sense.

462) *i: mer-tug a: meri berto mẽda* 'this tree is bigger than that tree'

In expressions of time, the suffix *-tug* appears in quite a different sense.

463) *tolli pokkali-tug te:b* 'stay till tomorrow morning'

463a) *citta villom-tug* 'for the whole night' etc.

6.18.7. VOCATIVE

The vocative suffixes are (1) *-ine* after a consonant and (2) *-ne* after a vowel.

464) *o:ḍuv-ine* 'Oh! tiger'

464a) *baṛav-ine* 'Oh! bullock'

464b) *meri-ne* 'Oh! tree'

464c) *va:ni-ne* 'Oh! rain'

The unaltered nominal stem may itself be used in a vocative sense. In such cases masculine stems ending in *-al* may drop the final *-l*.

465) *iya* 'mother' *ceniya* 'Oh! mother'

465a) *ka:nal* 'blind man' *ka:na* 'Oh! blind man'

6.19. Gadaba (Ollari)

6.19.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative suffixes are (1) *-n* after a vowel and (2) *-in* after a consonant.

They vary freely with *-ṅ* and *-iṅ* respectively which are considered to have been derived from the dative *-ṅ* and *-uṅ* by Bhattacharya (1957:21).

466) *kolya ḍurka-n pokeṭe* 'the fox told the panther'

466a) *o:nḍ an ma:l-in aṭdanḍ* 'he will beat my daughter'

466b) *va:rte-n toruṭna:l kaṭ* 'tie the yoke with rope'

466c) *se:pakil-in unḍuput* 'feed the children'

467) *i:n ti:te-ṅ sarup* 'you drive away the bird'

467a) *sinḍ-iṅ aṛumen* 'do not make the child weep'

In only one instance, *-uṅ* is found to occur as the accusative case suffix.

468) *in-uṅ a:m punam* 'we do not know you'

Bhattacharya has referred to the absence of the accusative with certain nouns. It may be noted that most of the instances where the accusative is absent are inanimate nouns.

469) *a:n kis siṭṭon* ‘I put out fire’

469a) *ko:ndel sara tinidav* ‘cows eat grass’

6.19.2. INSTRUMENTAL/SOCIATIVE

The suffix is *-na:l*.

470) (Inst.) *koṭal-na:l tukuṛ koṭudanḍ* ‘he will dig ground with spade’

471) (Soc.) *kuse-na:l kaṛse tin* ‘eat rice with vegetables’

471a) *ni:r-na:l a:n ki noren* ‘I washed hand with water’

6.19.3. DATIVE

The dative allomorphs are *-ṅ*, *-iṅ* and *-uṅ*. They are used only after pronouns. The postposition *payiṭ* is used after other nouns and also after pronouns. In all the examples given by Bhattacharya (1956:22), *payiṭ* is added after *-iṅ* which is really a dative suffix. All of them express purposive meaning only.

472) *an ayal-iṅ payiṭ aṭṭuṅ garnḍa indren* ‘I have brought a cloth from the market for my wife’

472a) *kaṇa maggind-iṅ payiṭ ma:pru: maya* ‘God is there for blind men’

473) *an-uṅ* ‘to me’

473a) *ama aya an -payiṭ kuse indreṭe* ‘our mother brought vegetables for me’

The suffixes *-uṅ* and *-ṅ* are also used to form the dative infinitive.

474) *su:r-uṅ* 'for selling'

474a) *aṭ-uṅ* 'for beating'

6,19.4. ABLATIVE

The ablative suffixes are *-pelṭuṅ* and *-ṭuṅ*. They occur after the uninflected stems.

475) *egil marin-pelṭuṅ i:leṭev* 'leaves fell out from the tree'

475a) *ule-ṭuṅ pe:p* 'come out of the house'

475b) *se:pal mar-ṭuṅ i:lenḍ* 'the boy fell from the tree'

This is also used in the comparative sense (Bhattacharya, 1956:29).

476) *am ule-ṭuṅ im ule berit maya* 'your house is bigger than mine'

477) (Among) *polubten paṭi ko:ndel pelṭuṅ an ko:nde niyaṭe maya* 'my cow is best of all the cows in the village'

6.19.5. GENITIVE

The genitive allomorphs are *-n* after a vowel and *-in* after a consonant which are in free variation with *-ṅ* and *-iṅ*.

478) *i: se:pal-in tam-aya* 'this girl's mother'

478a) *an ayal-iṅ garnḍa* 'my wife's cloth'

478b) *i: ko:nde-ṅ ko:rgul* 'horns of this cow'

Sometimes *-ne* is used to express the genitive.

479) *kor-ne cenḍi* 'cock's comb'

479a) *paṭin lo:k-ne garnḍal* 'all men's clothes'

In a small number of instances, *-ṭ* is also found as genitive suffix.

480) *ule-ṭ lo:k* 'people of the house'

6.19.6. LOCATIVE

The common locative allomorphs are *-tin* and *-tun* following perhaps front and back vowel respectively. Here *-in* and *-un* are the real suffixes and *-t-* is the increment.

481) *a:n mar-tin sotan* 'I climbed the tree'

481a) *ki-tin pareṭe ṭañgeya* 'the axe fell on the hand'

481b) *an soṛ-tun varsil sandi mayav* 'paddies have grown in my field'

481c) *poṭ-tun* 'at the back'

-n is also used sometimes to denote locative sense.

482) *ba:m ule-n ireṭe* 'the snake entered the house'

482a) *a:m nitren pinḍe-n unḍdam* 'we sit on the verandah everyday'

Bhattacharya (1957:24) has also recorded *-iṅ* in the locative sense and this may be the dative case in origin.

483) *si:kaṭ-iṅ o:nḍ kiyub kanḍtonḍ* 'he searched the knife in darkness'

6.20. Kurux

6.20.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative allomorphs are (1) *-an* occurs after neuter nouns ending in a consonant and after first and second person pronouns (both singular and plural), (2) *-n* after neuter nouns ending in a vowel and neuter plural pronouns ending in a vowel and (3) *-in* elsewhere. (Hahn, 1911:14).

484) *jō:khas khess-an cā:kha:lagdas* 'the servant is sowing rice'

484a) *e:n eṅg-an laudan* 'I beat myself'

484b) *a: aḍḍo-n e:ra:* 'see that ox'

484c) *ta:m eṛpa-n kamor* 'they will build the house themselves'

484d) *abṛa mukkar-in ho:a:* 'take those women away'

Grierson points out that *-na:* is also found as the accusative suffix instead of *-n* in some dialects (1906:434).

485) *tambasi na:* 'to his father'

This form is also used as dative. And on the other hand we also find the dative suffix *-ge:* used instead of the accusative.

486) *eṅg-a:-ge:* 'keep me'

Hahn also observed that the accusative suffix has been often used in the dative sense.

487) *e:n i:s-in lakṛan piṭa: ge: a:nkan* 'I told him (Acc.) to kill the tiger'

6.20.2. INSTRUMENTAL

Grierson mentions the instrumental suffixes *-tri:* and *-tru:*. Hahn gives one more allomorph *-tu:le:*. It occurs in the instrumental and causal senses.

488) *enga:ge gollas-tu:le: khakhra:* 'I got it through the land lord'

489) *a:s ki:ra:-tru: kecas* 'he died from starvation'

489a) *eñg-tri:* 'through/by me'

The instrumental may also be expressed by the adverb *le:ke:*.

490) *khe:khe:l a:nka: gahi le:ke: kamrki:rai: ra'i:* 'the world has been created by the lord'

6.20.3. DATIVE

The dative suffix is *-ge:*.

491) *e:n a:s-ge: cickan* 'I gave (to) him'

As the accusative and dative are often confounded, the accusative suffix is also used as dative.

492) *a:s-in* 'to him' (L.S.I. IV, 443)

This suffix is often used to express the genitive, locative, 'until', necessity and purposive.

493) *na:m tañ-ge: akka:balkan teñgro'o:t* 'let us confess our faults'

493a) *eñga:-ge: dhiba: mali:* 'I have no money' (lit. to me no money is)

494) *a:r gahi o:nar bara:-ge: na:m isa:nim ok'o:t* 'let us sit here until they come'

495) *kicri: eṅga:-ge: ca:ṛ ra'i:* 'I am in need of clothing'

496) *e:n a:rin me:k͟ha:-ge: ka'adan* 'I am going to call them'

496a) *a:s k͟henda:-ge: ka'adas* 'he is going to buy'

6.20.4. ABLATIVE

The ablative suffix is *-ti:*. Hahn calls this case as ablative and instrumental. It is used both in the ablative and instrumental senses.

497) *parta-ti: amm k͟hatr'a lagi* 'water is falling from the mountain'

497a) *a:r Rancin-ti: barcar* 'they came from Ranchi'

497b) *ni:m ikiyan'-ti: barckar* 'where did you come from?'

498) *i: eṛpa:gahi pachṛi: k͟haj-ti: kamcki: ra'i:* 'the walls of this house are made of mud'

It also expresses the causal, comparative and 'since.'

499) *laṇḍia: manjka:-ti: ki:ra: manjas* 'he has been impoverished by being lazy'

500) *a:s eṅgan-ti: ko:h'a: taldas* 'he is greater than I'

Hahn points out that the *origin* is also expressed by the ablative case (1911:96).

501) *a: kukkos a:digahi k̲h̲ekha:-ti: ra'as* 'that boy is of her hands. i.e., born from her'

501a) *man pa:dan-ti: urkhi:* 'the tree comes forth from the root'

In addition to these, the meaning 'since' may also often be expressed by the ablative suffix.

502) *a:be:ṛan-ti: baggi: ulla: manja:* 'it is a long time since' (lit. that time from many days have passed)

6.20.5. GENITIVE

Grierson gives *-gahi* as the genitive suffix and it has many dialect variants like *-ghi*, *-ghe:*, *-ge:*, *-ke:*, *-e:*, *-hi* and *-i:*. On the basis of the skeleton grammar in L.S.I., it can be said that *-gahi* occurs with human nouns, demonstrative and non-human interrogative pronouns and *-hai* after personal and human interrogative pronouns.

503) *a:l-gahi* 'of a man'

503a) *eṅ-hai* 'my'

Shankara Bhat (1966:107) has set up possessive 'different from 'genitive' and said that the possessive suffix *-hi* occurs after human nouns only and *-ta* after non-human nouns.

504) *a:las-hi kita:b* 'man's book'

504a) *pũ:p-ta raṅ* 'the colour of the flower'

K. V. Subbaiya has pointed out that there are two instances of the suffix *-a:* used as genitive in the text given in L.S.I.

505) *attarant -a: ort addiyas* 'land proprietor of the country'

505a) *ra:fi:t-a: orot a:las* 'one man of the country'

It is not clear whether it is only a modified form of *-ta* mentioned above.

Hahn gives one suffix *-gahi* for the genitive and says that the use of the genitive is rather restricted to the idea of possession (1911:94). He also gives another suffix *-nta:* for the possessive and points out that this suffix is used to denote the local connection.

506) *padda-nta: pa:b* 'the road of the village'

'Age' is also expressed by this possessive'.

507) *a:s na:kh ca:na-nta: maujas* 'he is four years of age'

6.20.6. LOCATIVE

The locative suffix is *-nu:*.

508) *pacco eḍpa-nu: malrahca* 'the wife is not in the house'

508a) *ṭo:ṛang-nu: lakṛa: ra'i:* 'there is a tiger in the jungle'

508b) *e:ka: ca:n-nu: kundrkai* 'in what year were you born?'

508c) *sasti:-nu: gam mo:khu: ra'a:* 'be patient in distress'

It is also used to denote 'direction' and 'among'.

509) *a:s doṅga:-nu: argyas* 'he stepped into the boat'

510) *mekho:-nu: mankha: ko:ha: ra'i:* 'among cattle the buffalo is the biggest'

Grierson gives another suffix *-nō:* which is found in the Raigarh dialect (Grierson, 1906:434). Hahn gives two more postpositions for this case, *-gusan* and *-gane:*. But the form *-gane:* is found to occur also in the sociative and dative senses.

511) *pairim a:phus-gusan khonḍorka: ra'a:* 'assemble at the office in the morning'

512) *a:s nam-gusan malkas* 'he is not with us'

512a) *a:d me:tar-gane: ke:xa:* 'she went with the men'

513) *eṅghai gho:ṛon kha:r-gusan ho:a:* 'take my horse to the river'

The postposition *-ule:* is also used to denote location.

514) *bai-ule: ambke: ba'a:* 'don't speak indistinctly' (lit. inside the mouth do not speak)

6.20.7. VOCATIVE

Hahn gives three suffixes for the vocative. *-ay* and *-ayo:* occur after human singular nouns and *-o:* elsewhere.

515) *urb* 'master' *urb-ay~urb-ayo:* 'Oh! Master'

516) *urbar-o:* 'Oh! masters'

516a) *mukkar* 'women' *mukkar-o:* 'Oh! women'

Besides these suffixes, *e:* or *ana* is also prefixed to the vocative form.

517) *e: urb-ayo:* ~ *ana urb-ayo:* 'Oh! Master'

517a) *e: halla:* 'Oh! dog'

In the feminine nouns, both the suffix and prefix undergo a change. i.e., *ana>anai* and the final *-a* of the feminine singular noun changes into *-ai*.

518) *anai mukkai* 'Oh! woman'

There is a further change of the prefix *ana* when women talk to women.

518a) *ana k̲h̲ai>a:n k̲h̲ai* 'Oh! daughter'

518b) *ana k̲h̲aiguṭhiar-o: > ane: k̲h̲aiguṭhiar -o:* 'Oh! daughter'

A plurality of men is addressed with *haro:*

519) *bara: haro:* 'come ye!'

In the case of non-human inanimate nouns, vocative suffix is not at all used.

6.21. Malto

The material is taken from L. S. I.

6.21.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative allomorphs are (1) *-e* occurs after neuter noun ending in a nasal (2) *-en* after personal, reflexive and human interrogative pronouns (3) *-in* after nouns ending in a consonant other than nasal and (4) *-n* elsewhere.

520) *man-e* 'tree' (Acc.)

520a) *en-g-en* 'me'

520b) *maler-in* 'men'

520c) *beṇḍu-n* 'coil'

520d) *ne:-k-en* 'who'

520e) *go:ler a:r-in darayoti ba ṭekyoti palar* 'Hindus could not catch or hinder them'

It is also used to denote dative sense.

521) *tam bakoh taṅg ena·kriyar-in awḍyah* 'his father said to his servants'

521a) *e:n ningen se:wch ḍokin* 'I am serving you' (Lit. I thee having served-am)

6.21.2. INSTRUMENTAL

The instrumental allomorphs are *-et*, *-it* and *-t*. *-et* occurs after neuter noun ending in a nasal or *-ṛ*, *-it* after the nouns ending in other consonants and *-t* elsewhere. The instrumental suffix is not found with pronouns.

522) *man-et* 'by the tree'

522a) *maler-it* 'by the men'

522b) *male-t* 'by the man'

522c) *a:h chopṛat tangki kochon uḍroti ugelchah* 'he wished to fill up his belly with husk'

It also occurs in the causative sense.

522d) *e:n ki:ṛ-et keyin* 'I died of hunger'

6.21.3. DATIVE

The suffixes are *-e* and *-k*.

-e occurs after personal, reflexive and human interrogative pronouns and *-k* elsewhere.

523) *eń-g-e* 'to me'

523a) *man-i-k* 'to a tree'

523b) *male-k* 'to a man'

523c) *a:h ahin kise chara:troti tańg ke:t-k teyah* 'he sent him to his field to tend pigs'

6.21.4. ABLATIVE OF MOTION

The ablative allomorphs are *-nte* after human nouns ending in a vowel, *-inte* after human nouns ending in consonants and *-te* elsewhere.

524) *male-nte* 'from a man'

524a) *mann-te* 'from a tree'

524b) *maler-inte* 'from the men'

This suffix does not occur with pronouns. In one instance, the ablative suffix is used in the sense 'among'.

525) *goṭe-nta e:ṛu bindeṛen ondrken* 'having brought good cloth from all'

-ti: is also found to be used in the ablative of motion sense probably with human nouns.

526) *naib a:lar-ti: menjas* 'he heard it from four men'

6.21.5. SOCIATIVE

The sociative sense is expressed by using the forms *-gusan/-gane:*.

527) *a:d a:lorguṭhiar-gusan ra'i:* 'she is with the men'

527a) *a:s a:liguṭhiar-gane: ka:das* 'he goes with the women'

6.21.6. GENITIVE

The genitive suffix is *-ki*.

528) *go:ḷer-ki bi:ten* 'the property of Hindus'

528a) *go:l ra:jar-ki amlen* 'time of the Hindu king'

528b) *tam-ki qepe qepe* 'their villages'

528c) *male-ki* 'of the man'

6.21.7. LOCATIVE

The locative allomorphs are *-no* after neuter nouns ending in a nasal or a vowel and also with the demonstrative pronouns and *-eno* after personal and reflexive pronouns and human interrogative pronoun and also after the neuter noun ending in a consonant.

529) *man-no* 'in a tree'

529a) *eñ-g-eno* 'with a man'

529b) *ne:-k-eno* 'with whom?'

529c) *ah-i-no* 'with him'

529d) *a:r-i-no* 'with them'

530) *a: de:s-i-no* 'in that country'

530a) *ahikhi me:gro tangadeh a:gari ket-eno ḍokyah* 'At that time his eldest son was in the field'

Another form *bahak* 'near' is used with human nouns.

531) *e:n eṅg abba-bahak e:ken* 'it will go to father'

6.22.1. **Brahui**

6.22.1. ACCUSATIVE / DATIVE

The suffix is *-e*. The accusative suffix is obligatory only with the rational objects and preceded by the adjective in the definite form, by a determinate numeral or by a demonstrative or possessive pronoun. (Bray, 1909:54)

532) *shwa:n duzz-e halk* 'the shepherd caught the thief'

532a) *chunakka: ma:r-e mon e:te* 'send out the young lad'

532b) *da: shar-e illa:* 'he left this village'

532c) *te:na: musi huchch-e sauda: kare:t* 'I sold my three camels'

-e as a dative suffix can also be used as the agent with the verbal noun of obligation.

533) *sarka:r-e sarda:teaṭ ra:ja:k much karifoi:o* 'the tribesmen are to be collected by the Government through the chiefs'

It appears to have terminative force when used with certain verbs which are regarded as transitive.

534) *i:kha:n-e rase:naga:ṭ* 'I came up to the Khan'

534a) *shar-e khuṛk kare: narra:* 'when he got near to the town he ran off'

6.22.2. INSTRUMENTAL

The instrumental suffix is *-aṭ*. It denotes primarily the instrument with which an act is done.

535) *laṭṭ-aṭ khalkus-ta* 'did you beat him with the stick?'

535a) *da:chukke du:-aṭ halkuṭ* '1 caught this bird with my hand'

This also express (1) the agent, (2) the manner in which something is done (adverb of manner) and (3) the way in which one goes (through).

536) *kana: i:lum-aṭ toning-a mafak* 'he can't be stopped by my brother'

537) *kona:kulava:teode jwa:ni: -aṭ pa:s* 'please give him my message properly'

538) *handa: jangal-aṭ pa:ṭ karisa hina:ka* 'he was going by this wood picking up sticks'

538a) *chukkana: vallaras nana: ka:ṭum-aṭ gida:re:nga:* 'a flock of birds passed over our head'

6.22.3. SOCIATIVE

The sociative suffix is *-to*. Bray calls this conjunctive.

539) *i: na: ma:ra:-to mastungai-a ka:va* 'I will go with your son to Mastung'

There are four other secondary usages of this suffix. They are (1) possession of something with somebody, (2)

instrumental sense, (3) simultaneous action and (4) locative sense (time).

540) *kana:tu:fak na: i:lum-ton e* 'my gun is with your brother'

In this example *-ton* occurs as the suffix instead of *-to*. *-ton* is the alternant form of *-to* which occurs before the present affirmative of the substantive verb.

541) (2) *laṭṭa-to khalkuṭ-ta, zaghmato khaltavaṭ-ta* 'I struck him with the stick, not with the sword'

542) (3) *ona: tava:r-to non rase:nga:n* 'as he shouted we arrived'

543) (4) *sha:ma-to bare:va* 'I will come in the evening'

6.22.4. PURPOSIVE

Bray has named this case as 'the dative of interest'. The allomorphs of this case are *-kin* when it co-occurs with by the present affirmative of the substantive verb *-aki* with the monosyllabic singular nouns and *-ki* elsewhere.

544) *i: te:na ba:va-ki da: ḍagha:re dase:ṭ* 'I showed this land for my father'

544a) *khuda:na: pin-aki nane ille:* 'for God's name's sake let us go'

544b) *giṛa:-as ki ni: much kare:nus, kul na: i:lum-kin e* 'all that you have collected is for the sake of your brother'

544c) *se:lha-ki kachchia:i-a ka:na* 'we go to Kachhi for the winter'

Here in this sentence the suffix *-ki* can mean both the purposive and locative.

6.22.5. ABLATIVE

The ablative suffix is *-a:n*. The primary of this suffix is 'motion from'.

545) *te:na: uragh-a:n pe:sh tamma:* 'he came forth from his house'

545a) *tugh-a:n bash massuṭ* 'I awoke from sleep'

It is also used in the (1) quasi-instrumental sense and (2) comparative sense.

546) (1) *huch iragh-a:n hampok ass* 'the camel was loaded with food'

547) (2) *piḍ ba:-a:n she:fe* 'the belly is lower than the mouth'

It is even used of the agent with verbs of passive significance.

548) *ni: da: da:vae khala:s karak, sarka:r-a:n mafak* 'do you decide this case, it can't be decided by the Government'

The ablative is sometimes used 'adverbially of time'.

549) *de:-a:n hina:r* 'they went day by day'

550) (Among) *musiṭṭ-a:n asiṭ husna:r e* 'of the three one is wise'

6.22.6. GENITIVE

The genitive suffix is *-a:* and the preceding *n* and *t* are taken as inflectional increments.

551) *kan–a: hulli: batane* 'my horse hasn't come'

551a) *te:n–a: hulli:te karak* 'take your own horses'

552) *khara:s-t a:* 'of the bull'

552a) *zahri:t-a: ma:le khalpa* 'don't lift cattle belonging to the Zahris'

6.22.7. LOCATIVE

The locative allomorphs are *-a:ṭi:* and *-a:i*. *-a:ṭi:* denotes primarily 'rest in' or 'motion into a place'.

553) *kana: shahr–aṭi: tu:lik* 'he lives in my village'

553a) *ur–a:ṭi: pe:ha:ṭ* 'I went into the house'

It seems to have a terminative force too.

554) *kana: tu:fak ka:ṭum-aṭi: –ta lagga:* 'my shot hit him on the head'

The other suffix *-a:i* primarily means 'motion to' or 'towards'.

555) *i: da:sa: kala:t–a:i–a ka:va* 'I will now go to Kalat'

555a) *kana: ura:gh–a:i ba* 'come towards my house'

Its secondary meaning is 'motion on to' or 'rest on'.

556) *kaṭṭ–a:i–a kha:chik* 'he lies on the bed-stead'

556a) *ode ḍag͟ha:r–a:i biṭe:ṭ* 'I flung him on the ground'

In Thalawan dialect, *-a:* is used as the locative suffix instead of *–a:i.*

557) *k͟hara:s–a:* 'on the bull'

There found another set of Locative suffixes *–is, -isk* and *–ik* which occur with the meaning 'rest in' or 'in the vicinity of'. The form *–isk* is found to be used after the human nouns in the pure locative sense (see the last example).

558) *shwa:n hamo mash-is maroe* 'the shepherd will probably be about that hill'

558a) *kure handa: du:n–isk k͟hanos* 'you will probably find the flock at this well'

558b) *muru: hame: drak͟hla:te:k gum mass* 'the hare disappeared in the neighbourhood of those trees'

559) *ne: sarda:r-isk zaru:r–a de:va* 'I will certainly take you to the chief (to the chief's place)'

III. COMPARATIVE STUDY

6.23. Common Dravidian

6.23.1. ACCUSATIVE

The accusative suffixes in the various Dravidian languages fall under three phonological groups, viz, **–an, *–ay* and ***-(V)nk.*

The reflexes of *-*an* are found in Ko., To., Koḍ., Ka., Badaga, Tu., Te , Go., Koya, Kol., Nk.(Ch.), Pa., Ga (dialectally), Kur. and Malt. The final nasal is uniform in all these languages but the preceding vowel is not uniform: -*a* in Ka., Tu. (personal pronouns), Te., (personal and reflexive pronouns) and Kur.; -*u* in Go., Kol., and Nk.(Ch.) and -*i* in Te., Koya, Pa., Ga., Kur., and Malt. The vowel is absent in some languages. The vowel **a* is considered as original because it is found in the three subgroups. The change of **a* > *i* is found in CDr. and NDr. In NDr, *-*an* is found only after the stem ending in -*g* and -*r* sometimes and *-*in* elsewhere. Even though Malto has -*en* as the accusative suffix, it is due to special development in that language; Kur. *eng-an* 'me' Malt. *eng-en;* Kur. *ne:k-an* 'whom' Malt. *ne:k-en* 'id'. It is to be pointed out additionally that PDr. *-*an* the masculine suffix is -*e* in Malt. (§ 2.23.1. p. 114). So, **a* > *e* is a special development in Malt. only. All the CDr. languages except Kol. and Nk.(Ch.) have **in* as the accusative after the stem ending in a consonant. Kol. and Nk.(Ch.) have -*u* and even this can be explained from **i*. So, **a* > **i* is a common innovation in PCDr. and this may probably be due to the influence of the inflectional increment **in* (§ 5.23 2.).

The loss of vowel in Ko. and To. is due to the general tendency to lose the non-initial vowel. In most of the CDr. languages, the vowel is retained only after the stems ending in a consonant. When the consonantal ending came to have an enunciative vowel in the prepausal position the nasal alone should have been considered as the accusative suffix due to recutting, and hence extended to other nouns.

-ay as such is found in Ta. and Ma. only. Even though Ma. *-e* can be considered to have developed from an earlier **ay*, its regular reflex is only *-a* in majority of the cases. The reason for this special development is not known now. Koḍ. *-a* can be taken as the reflex **-ay* and not **-an* for which the regular reflex is *en* (see 2.23.1. p. 113). *-i* in Kui and Kuvi and *-e* in Br. seem to be connected with this reflex **-ay*.

The reflexes of *(V) nk* are found in Konda (*-ṅ*), Pengo (*-aṅ* and *-iṅ*), Ga. (*-ṅ* dialectally) and these suffixes are also used as dative in these languages. Really there is no separate suffix in these languages. Even in those languages where the accusative and the dative are different, there are some overlapping. The dative suffix is used in the accusative sense. For instance, see Ta. (43) and Kur. (486). However, **(V)nk* does not belong to the accusative, but it is really a dative suffix.

The two suffixes, **-an* and **-ay* are in complementation in the matter of their geographical distribution and not a single language has evidence for both the suffixes. Therefore only one suffix can be reconstructed to PDr. and other should be explained as a later development of it.

Caldwell (1956:273f) has assumed that OKa.*-am* is the original form from which all others are derived. According to him, **am* has changed into *-an* in other languages as well as in Mod. Ka. and it has also changed into *-a* in Ka. by 'the process of the softening away of the final nasal' (OKa. *maram* 'tree' NKa. *mara*). This *-a* should have developed into *-ei* (*ay*) because 'the change of *a* into *-ei* takes place so

frequently that it may almost be considered as a dialectal one. But Ramaswami Ayyer (1936b) has criticized the explanation of Caldwell by saying that 'it involves far too many assumptions'. However, as noted above, the earlier suffix can be *-*an* and not *-*am* because of two reasons: (1) -*n* is found in all the languages which have the reflex of -**an*. Note Kannada too has -*an* as early as 7th century (Narasimhia 1941:135) and (2) the merger of *-*n* with -*m* is a special historical development in Ka. **magan* 'son' > *magam* (8th cent. Insc.) *-*in* > **im* (7th cent. Insc.) etc. Therefore *-*an* can be considered as accusative suffix in PDr.

Now the problem is to explain the change of **n* into -*y* in Ta. Ma. etc. The alternation of *n* and *y* has already been pointed out (see § 4.5. p 190) but it needs some clear evidence to prove this.

The use of the accusative suffix in the dative sense especially when the case phrase co-occurs with the verbs denoting say, tell etc. can be pointed out here. This kind of usage is found in Ta. (11) Kui (352) Kol. (398d), Kur. (486) and Malt. (521).

The addition of the accusative suffix is optional in all the languages. But it is optional when the object is non-human in Ta., Ma., Ka., Kui and Br., while in Ko., Te., Go., Koṇḍa, Ga., and Pa., it is optional in the inanimate nouns. Since the former is found in the three sub-groups, in PDr. also, the addition should be optional when the object is human

6.23.2. INSTRUMENTAL

The reflexes of the instrumental suffix fall under three phonological groups, **-a:n/a:l*, **-oṭu/o:ṭu* and **-(V)n*.

The reflexes of **a:n/a:l* are found in Ta. (18), Ma. (118), Ko. (151), To. (169b) and Ga. (470). Since the ablative suffix *-a:n* in Br. is also used as agentive in the passive construction (548), Br. can be taken as having evidence for **a:n* in the instrumental case.

Ta. (28), Ko. (156c) and Pa. (436) have the reflexes of **oṭu* as the instrumental suffix. *-aḍ* in Kol. (399) and *-aṭ* in Br. (535) seem to be connected with this suffix. Note that PDr. **o* has *a* as one of the reflexes in Br. (Emeneau, 1970a: 18) and out of four meanings given by Bray for *-aṭ*, two (instrumental (28) and adverb of manner (32)) are found in OTa. as well as in NTa. *-oṭu* is used in the sense of 'through' in NTa. (*teruv-oṭu po:ṉa:ṉ* 'he went through the street') Toda too has the agentive meaning (156c) for *oṭu* like Br. (536).

Caldwell has connected Tu. *-ḍa/-ṭa* with Ta. *oṭu* (1956:279). But the connection seems to be doubtful because the final *-a* cannot be considered as an enunciative vowel. The locative suffix *-ḍɨ/ṭɨ* in Tulu is probably connected to **oṭu*. It also occurs in the instrumental (277). It is to be mentioned that **oṭu* also occurs in the locative sense in Ta. (30). Nk. (Ch.) uses *-aṛ* in the ablative sense (423) and the final syllable of the ablative suffixes *tan-aṭ* and *natt- aṭ* in Kol. may be related to **oṭu*. Caldwell (1956:304) has observed that Tu. *-ḍu/ṭu* may be related to Ta. *iṭam* or

iṭai. Subrahmanyam (1968c:55) accepting the suggestion of Caldwell, has pointed out that *iṭai* and *iṭam* are mentioned as locative suffixes in Tolka:ppiyam (Tol. 566). There are two difficulties in accepting the suggestion: (1) the regular reflex of **-am* is *-a* (Subrahmanyam *Ibid.* 51.) and **ay* is *-e*. and (2) in Ta., *iṭam* is used only in the locative sense (99) and *iṭai* in the locative (80) and the dative (51) senses. As Tulu uses *ḍu/ṭu* also in the instrumental (277) and adverb of manner (276), it is probable that the locative suffix in Tulu may be connected with **oṭu*.

-(V) *n* occurs as the instrumental in Ka.(215), Te. (280) Konḍa (329) where V is *-a*. Nk.(Ch.) *-la* (420) may be from the earlier **al* < **an*. Pengo employs *-aṅ* the instrumental suffix and it may be from earlier **ank*. In Ta. (66), Ma. (172) and Ka. (217), *-in* is the instrumental suffix. Kota has *-n* (154) and it may be related to *Vn*. Koya *-i* does not seem to be related here because it has another allomorph *-e*.

These three suffxes, **a:n*, **oṭu* and **Vn* occur in Ta. and Ko. only. Brahui has evidence for the first two suffixes. Since these suffixes can not be explained by positing a common base form, these suffixes have been reconstructed to PDr.

In many languages except Ta. and Ko. all the three are not retained.

For instance, Toda has preserved **a:l* and Ka. **Vn* only. But Malayalam has retained **a:n* and **Vn*. The loss of **a:n* may be an areal development in Koḍ , Ka. and Tu. Many of the CDr. languages have lost the two suffixes. Te., Konḍa

Kuvi and Pe. have **an* only and the other two are lost in this group. In Kol. **oṭu* is only preserved and **a:n* and **Vn* are lost. The same change has taken place in Pa. But in Ga., **a:l* is only retained and the other two are disappeared. It is to be noted that probably from the period of Middle Tamil, **oṭu* as the instrumental suffix is lost. (see, Anantakrishna Pillai, 1969:102).

There are some special developments in some languages. *koṇṭu*, the verbal participle of **koḷ* 'receive, seize' is employed to denote the instrumentality in Ta. (24), Ma. (121) and Koḍ. (186) and this is a common innovation in this group.

Malto uses *-t/it* which may be related to **tt*, one of the locative suffixes (see § 6.23.5). The instrumental suffix in Kur. *-tri/tru:* is considered to be related to Te. *toḍa* (Grierson, 1906:403) which is used as sociative.

6.23.3. SOCIATIVE

**a:n/a:l* and **o:ṭu/oṭu* can be reconstructed as sociative suffixes to the PDr. Note that these two suffixes are reconstructed to the instrumental also. However, **o:ṭu* is more predominently used for the sociative and its reflexes occur in Ta., Ma., Ko., and Pa. Moreover, with another formative **-an* (i. e. **o:ṭu- an* > **oṭan*), it is found in Ta., Ma., Ka. and Badaga. It is to be noted here that Kota has **o:ṭu* only as the sociative even though it has **oṭu* and **a:n* in the instrumental. Similarly in Tamil from the middle period onwards, **a:n* was not employed for the sociative (see, Anantakrishna Pillai, 1969:102). The reflexes of

a:n/a:l occur only in Ta. and Ga. In many other languages, the sociative is expressed by the postpositions. **ku:ṭa,* the infinitive form of the verb *ku:ṭu* 'join' is employed in Mod. Ta. (*na:ṉ avanku:ṭa po:ṉe:ṉ* 'I went with him') Mod. Ma. (*ña:n avanṯe/avano:ṭa ku:ṭa po:yi* 'I went with him') Koḍ. (190) and Badaga (246b).

Subrahmanyam (1968a:43) gives a postposttion *tho:ṛo:* occurring in the sociative sense in Gondi. Koya has *–to:n* (313) and Br. *to* (539) as the sociative suffix. These suffixes seem to be related to each other but the details recording their relation are not clear. After hinting the possibility of the connection between Ta. *oḍu* and Te. *to:ḍu,* Caldwell finally observes thus: 'The Tamil *o:ḍu* and the Telugu *to:ḍu* are not certainly identical and yet it is difficult to suppose the resemblance between them altogether accidental. I admit, however, that different postposition for the different signs of the case may be freely selected for the use in the various dialects' (1956:279).

Kur. and Malt. use both *gane:* and *gusan* as the sociative suffix. Since **an* has been reconstructed as one of the instrumental suffixes, there is a possibility that the instrumental **-an* used as the sociative in these two languages. The initial *g-* can be considered as an inflectional increment.

Kui *–ke,* Pe. *–hoke* and Nk. (Ch.) *-nokon* seem to be related to each other and they may probably be derived from **okV* < **oka.* Note in Ta. *okka* has the meaning of 'together' (DED 831b).

As already pointed out, the suffix **oṭu* has other meanings also. For instance, in the sense of 'through', it is used in Ta., Ma. (127), Kol. (406) and Br. (538) and in the sense of 'till', in Ta. (31b), Ko. (156b), and Tu. (275). When this occurs with the abstract nouns, it denotes the adverb of manner in the languages like Ta. (32), Ma. (126a), Tu. (276) and Br. (537).

6.23.4. DATIVE

**-kkV* can be reconstructed to the PDr. to account the dative suffixes found in all the languages. Koṇḍa, Pe., Kol., Pa., (southern dialect) and Ga. have (*V*) *ṅ* as the dative suffix. It can be explained (see § 5.23 2) as derived from **Vn–k*. So those languages ~~has~~ preserved *-k* in their earlier stage. Eventhough Br. has *–e* as the dative as well as the accusative, *-ki* found in the purposive sense which is one of the major meanings of the dative, can be taken as providing the evidence for **kkV*.

The final vowel *–u* is only enunciative in most of the languages. However, *-a* is found in OTa. (36) and Badaga. *–e* in Ka. and *e:* in Kur. might be a clitic (i.e., *–e:*) in origin. After the loss of the significance of the clitic, it should have become part and parcel of the case suffix. It can be pointed out here that in Mod. Ta., the instrumental and the locative case suffixes have *–e:* as part of the case suffix due to the similar change. *–i* in Te. is only due to the progressive assimilation. But *-ki* is found everywhere in Kui and Kuvi. Most probably, it may be due to the analogical levelling.

Ta. (69), Ma. (130), Nk.(Ch.) (416) and Kur. (487) have evidence for **in* as the dative suffix. Since the reflexes of **in* as the locative suffix is widely attested, it cannot be taken as another allomorph of the dative **-kku*. As the use of dative suffix in the sense of locative (see below) is more common in many languages, this may have some thing to do with the use of the locative suffix in the dative sense.

The most common meaning for the dative is directive, indirect object etc. Another important meaning is the purposive. In addition to this suffix, the purposive is also expressed by separate postpositions in many languages. Even in OTa. there are many postpositions like *ma:ṭṭu* (53), *tiṟattu* (54), *vayiṉ* (55) and *poruṭṭ* (*a:ka*) (56). In NTa. *a:ka* is added to the dative form. Ta. *poruṭṭu* can be connected to Te. *poṇṭhe* (288) and both of them should have developed from **poruṇṭṭ* < **poruṇ-tt* (Kumaraswamy Raja, 1969).

Ko. *ka:ṛy*, To. *koy~koc*, Badaga *ga:yi* and NTe. *go:cam* are all from **ko:c-*. NTa. *ko:cam~ko:caram* in the Northern and Central dialects, can be related to this. The initial *k-* in all the instances may be the reflexive of the dative suffix.

Go. *sa:ṭi* (Subrahmanyam, 1968a:44), Kol. *saṭṭi* (403) and Nk.(Ch.) *saṭṭi* (418)~*sa:ṭi* (418a) are the postpositions to denote the purposive and it is a borrowing from Indo-Aryan. The origin of Ga. *payiṭ* (472) is not known now.

Mostly with the nouns of time and place and also with some other nouns, the dative suffix denotes the locative sense. Ta. (41, 48), Ma. (132), Koḍ. (193), Ka. (228), Tu. (264), Te. (286), Pe. (383), Konḍa (323), Kol. (404), Nk. (Ch.)

(419), Pa. (442), Ga. (483), Kur. (493a) and Br. (544c) have evidence for this. From this kind of usage (i.e. use the dative case in the locative sense), the two special developments have taken place independantly in Kol. and Pa. In Kol., this usage is preserved only with respect of plural nouns. That is *-eṅ* < **en-k*, the locative suffix in the plural nouns should have developed because of this kind of usage only. Emeneau has also noted (1961:121) the overlapping of the dative and the locative even in the singular. *Podne uba-t sivval a·ra* 'the fuel dries in the heat of the sun' is equal to *podne uba-ṅ sivval a·ra* 'id'. In Parji, the ablative suffix is *-tug*. Here *-g* < **k* is the dative suffix in origin. It is employed only when it co-occurs with the verbs of motion and hence it is considered as an ablative suffix.

In Ta. (42), Ko. (158), Ka. (227), Go. (299), Kui (355a), Pe. (385) and Kol. (402) the dative is also used in the comparative sense. Even though Pa. *-tug* (462) and Ga. *-ṭuṅ* (476) are given as the ablative suffixes in the comparative sense, they are the dative case suffixes in origin. Konḍa does not use *-ṅ* in the comparative sense. But its use in the sense of 'among' (324) may be taken to be an evidence for the use of dative suffix in that sense.

Instrumental and causal meanings are also expressed by the dative suffix in the languages like Ta. (40), Konḍa (321), Kuvi (370), Pe. (382) Kol. (401) and Pa. (440). Brahui uses *-e* which is common to the dative and the accusative, in the instrumental sense (533).

When the dative phrase co-occurs with the kinship terms, it denotes the genitive sense. This is found in Ta.

(46, 47), OKa. (229) and Te. (287). Pe. *-iṅ* which is same for the dative and the accusative is also employed in this sense (383). In Kanyakumari dialect of Tamil (46) and Malto, **kku* is the regular genitive suffix.

6.23.5. LOCATIVE

**-an*, **-in* **-a:n/*a:l* and **-(a)tt* are the suffixes which can be reconstructed to PDr. and all of them occur only with non-human nouns. The use of post positions like **uḷ*, **kaṇ* and **pakkal* after all the nouns go to the PDr. stage.

**in/il* is found in Ta. (80), Ma. (140), Nk. (Ch.) (439) and Ga. (481). Ko. *-l* (162), Toda *-s̱* (176) which is developed from **-l* (Emeneau, 1970a:92) and Koḍ. *-li* (200) are developed from **il*. Kur. *-nu* (506) can be connected with **in*. Malt *-(i)n* is always followed by *-o* which seems to be another suffix. The final vowel *-i:/i* in the two locative suffixes, *aṭi:/a:i* may be the reflex of **in*. The lengthening of the final vowel is not uncommon in Br. Genitive **a* is *a:* in Br. Kannada uses *-in* as the ablative suffix (219). Since the ablative of motion is part of the locative, Ka. form can be taken to have evidence for the locative **in*.

**an/al* occurs in Ka. (234), Te. (291a) and Koṇḍa (334), *-a* in Kui (363) and Kuvi (376) can be explained as being developed from **an*. Malayalam has *-kal* (140a). Parji has *-kel* (453) as well as *-el* (452). Since *e* is one of the reflexes of PDr. **a* (Emeneau, 1970a:8), both can be from earlier **kal* and **al* respectively. Since **k* has been reconstructed as one of the increments(see § 5.23b), Ma. and Pa.

have evidence for the locative suffix -*al. Similarly Nk.(Ch.) -*kel* (432b) is the reflex of **kal* < **k-al*.

Both these suffixes **an* and **in* occur only in Ma. and Nk.(Ch.). Even though Ka. has -*an* and -*in*, the former is used as locative and the latter as the ablative. Other SDr. languages like Ta., Ko. and Koḍ. have **in* where as many of the CDr. languages have **an*.

The reflexes of **a:n/a:l* are found in Ta. (21) and Ma. (120). Go. (302a) and Br. (545) use the reflexive of this suffix in the ablative sense. In Ta. also, -*a:n* occurs as ablative of motion (22). Moreover, in the Ceylon dialect of Tamil, *a:le* is used only in the ablative (Agethialingom, 1970:79).

*-(*a*)*tt*- has been reconstructed as one of the inflectional increments occurring before genitive in PDr. (§ 5.23.5). But this increment is also used as a locative suffix in Ta. (83,84), Konḍa (344a) and Kol. (410). Malayalam uses -*tt*- in the locative sense (*teruvattu* 'in the street' RC. 69. Ramaswami Ayyer. 1936a:12). Tulu has -*tti*- (267) in the ablative and Malt -*it/t* in the instrumental. All these are related to the locative **tt* but the meaning is either restricted or changed. This tendency is commonly found in the other locative suffixes. For instance, Konḍa uses **an* only in the ablative meaning.

Among the postpositions, **uḷ* is the most predominent and it means 'inside' (DED 600). Additionally it is used as a pure locative marker in Ta. (88). Ma. (143), Koḍ. (212), Ka. (223) Tu. (273) and Te. (292). Koḍ. has **uḷ* but it is always followed by **il*. In Te., **uḷ* is followed by *-*an*.

Badaga *-o:* (254) should have developed from **oḷ* < **uḷ*. *-o* found in Koṇḍa (341), Kui (363b), Kuvi (377), Pe. (394) and Malt. (529) is in origin **oḷ* < **uḷ*. It is to be pointed out here that **uḷ* 'inside' (DED 600) has the reflex *u-* in many languages. But the occurrence of *-o* in the locative may be explained as due to its occurrence in the non-initial position.

The reflexes of **kaṇ* are *kaṇ* in Ta. (85) and *kan* (455a) and *ka* (455) in Pa. PDr. **ṇ* is *n* in Pa. (Emeneau 1970a:82). Jules Bloch (1954:21) has already explained *kaṇ* as *k* plus *aṇ* because *-aṇ* is found in the other words like *av-aṇ* 'there' (Aiṅ. 75). *naṭuv-aṇ* 'one who is in the centre' (Aiṅ. 401) etc. in Ta. **-k* has already been considered as an inflectional increment (5.236)

Another common semantic feature of Dravidian languages is found in the use of postposition denoting 'near' as pure locative suffix especially with the human nouns and pronouns. **pakkal* 'near' in the locative sense occurs in Ta. (110), Ma. (114) and Gowda Ka. (*hakkale*; *nanna-hakkale* 'with me, in me' *appana hakkale* 'with father, in father, Kushalappa Gowda:1970:48).

In some other languages, other postpositions having the same gloss are found to be employed. Ko. *otl* (*avotl mogoḷa* 'the child is with (lit. near) the mother'. Badaga *sa:ra* (255), Kol. *nadaṅ* (413a) Kur. *husan* (*embashusan ke:ras* 'he went to (lit. near) his father') and Malt. *bahak* (*e:n eṅg abba bahak e:ken* 'I will go to (hit. near) 'my father'. Te. uses *-vadda/ daggira* 'near' with the human nouns in the locative sense.

6.23.6. Ablative

All the locative suffixes can be employed to denote the ablative of motion when the case phrase is immediate constituent relationship with the verbs of motion. Additionally the ablative of motion is expressed by the two post positions, *(n) *inṯu* and **antu*. The first seems to be related to the verbal participle of the verb *nil* 'stand' (DED 3043). The reflexes of **ninṯu* are found in Ta. (60) and Ma. (136). Ka. (219b) and Malt. (524b) have **inṯV* only. Malayalam (137) and Koṇḍa (332) have evidence for **anṯu*.

Another common practice is the use of the verbal participle of the verb denoting 'exist' in some languages. Ta. (61) and Koḍ. (195) have the verbal participle of the verb *iru* 'exist' (DED 407). Te. *uṇḍi* (289) is form **uṇḍu* 'exist' < **uḷ* (DED 599).

The ablative suffixes are also employed to express the comparative in the languages like Ta. (58, 59), Ma. (138), Ka. (220), Tu. (271), Kur. (500) and Br. (547) even though the suffixes are different. Badaga uses the instrumental suffix *-enda* in the comparative sense (245) and it may be related to this kind of usage.

6.23.7. GENITIVE

The suffixes used to denote the genitive cases fall under two phonological groups, **-a* and **-atu*.

The reflexes of **-a* are found in Ta. (73, 74, 75), Ka. (231), Go. (303), Koya (317), Nk. (Ch.) (428), Pa. (446) and Br. (551). In the early Kannada inscriptions, *a:* is more

predominent. Similarly Gondi and Brahui have *-a:* and the lengthening of the final vowel can be independent innovation in those languages. Even though Telugu does not have this genitive suffix, the plural oblique marker *-a* should be in origin the genitive suffix. It is to be pointed out that **-a-* has been reconstructed only after plural nouns and before dative only (see § 5.23.3). Therefore Telugu has the reflex of this suffix. Kol. (409) and Ga. (479) have *-ne* as the genitive marker. As already pointed out under § 2.23.3a, P. 125, *-e* can be taken as the reflex of **-a*.

The reflexes of **atu* occur in Ta. (71), Ka. (232), Ko. ( ), To. (175), Te. (290) and Kui (361). In Kannada, Telugu and Kui, this suffix occurs only with the personal pronouns. Since Ta., Ka. and Te. have the two suffixes, **a* and **atu*, it is better to reconstruct these two suffixes to the PDr. As Kui has evidence for **atu*, it cannot be reconstructed to the PSDr. Even in PDr. **atu* most probably should have occurred only with personal pronouns.

The appellative base *-uṭai* is used to denote the genitive in Ta. (76), Ma. (139) and Badaga. Koḍ. *-ḍa/-ra* has been connected to this by Ramaswami Ayyer. So, these four languages have the evidence for **uṭay* as the genitive suffix.

6.23.8. VOCATIVE

The vocative has not been treated by many grammars.

The vocative can be expressed by the addition of suffixes like other cases and by the addition of particles before the

noun. Here the reconstruction of suffixes is alone attempted here.

There are two suffixes *-*e*: and *-*o*: in PDr. The reflexes of **e*: are found in Ta., Ma., Ko., Ka., Tu. and Pa. and the reflexes of **o*: in To., Tu. and Kur. It is to be noted here that Nan̲n̲u:l (s. 307) has referred to the suffix -*o*: (*appa*: *appa*:*v*-*o*: 'Oh! father'). Telugu has -*a*: as the vocative suffix. It is most probably related to *-*o*: .

VII

LEXICON

This chapter consists of two major sections. The first contains the list of nouns belonging to various sub classes discussed in the first chapter. Only handful of examples are given under each category. The second section includes the etymological items and it is divided into two sub divisions, the first containing supplementary entries to *DED(S)* and the second, supplementary materials to existing entries in *DED (S)*.

7.1. List of nouns

7.1.1. INHERENT HUMAN NOUNS

a) *Masculine*

**appan* 'father'–133; **tantay* 'father' -2904 etc.

b) *Feminine*

**akkay* 'elder sister' -24 **attay* 'father's sister, mother-in-law'-121, **a:y* 'mother'-308; **tamkay* 'younger sister' –2445a; etc.

7.1.2. ANIMATE NOUNS

**a:n* 'cow' – 283; **erutu* 'bull' - 283; **kiḷi* 'parrot' –1318; **te:ḷ* 'scorpion' – 2855; **makan* 'son', **makaḷ* 'daughter' –3768; **mi:n* 'fish' 3999 etc.

7.1.3. INANIMATE NOUNS

**kaṭal* 'sea' -937; **nañcu* 'poison' – 2955; **maram* 'tree' - 3856; **marutu* 'a tree' – 3862; **malay* 'mountain' -3882; **mukil* 'cloud' 4005; **va:n* 'sky, rain' -4410 etc.

7.1.4. COUNT NOUNS

**kaṇ* 'eye' -937 (a); **kal* 'stone'-1091; **paṭṭay* 'rafter' -3204; **pal* 'tooth'-3288; **va:l* 'tail'-4394 etc.

7.1.5. MASS NOUNS

**ari* 'rice' – 178; **kuppay* 'heap' – 440; **ku:ḻ* 'food' -1592; **te:n* 'honey' – 2764b; **ni:r* 'water' – 3057; **ney* 'ghee' – 3104; **pa:l* 'milk' – 3370; **maṇ* 'earth, mud' – 3817 etc.

7.1.6. PLACE NAMES

**il* 'house' -420; **u:r* 'village' -643; **ka:ṭu* 'forest' -1206; **na:ṭu* 'country' -3012 etc.

7.1.7. TIME NOUNS

**nal* 'night' – 199, **na:ḷay* 'to-morrow' -3025; **nila(n)c* 'month' – 3113, **pakal* 'day time' 3157, **macamku* 'twilight -3778, **ya:ṇṭu* 'year' -4230 etc.

7.1.8. ABSTRACT NOUNS

**a:rvam* 'affection' -326; **nayam* 'kindness' -2799 etc.

7.2. **Etymology**

7.2.1. SUPPLEMENTARY ITEMS TO DED(S)

1) Ta. *e:ka:li* 'washerman', Te. *ca:kili* 'id'.

2) Ta. *ki̤ḻavaṉ* 'owner, lord, master, husband'. Tol. Ka. *keḷeyan* 'friend' (male). Vaḍḍ. 53; 65.

3) Ta. *ce:r* 'a measure of capacity' (liquid). Ka. *se:ru* 'id'. Tu. *se:r* 'id'. Te. *se:r* 'id'.

4) Ta. *tu:ṇi* 'a measure of capacity', Ma. *tu:ṇi* (Insc.) 'id'.

5) Ta. *na:ṭakam* 'drama', Koḍ. *na:ṭaka* 'id', *na:ḍë* 'actor', *na:ṭipa:ṭ* 'song when running in pudded field'

6) Ta. *na:ṭṭiyam* 'dance', Koḍ. *na:ṭiya* 'id'.

7) Ta. *pacco:nti* 'chameleon', Koḍ. *pacco:ndi* 'id'.

8) Ta. *puṭṭu* 'any preparation of rice, wheat etc.' Koḍ. *puṭṭī* 'id'.

7.2.2. ADDITIONAL ITEMS TO DED(S)

The number refers to the number in the DED(S).

167) Ma. *arayi* 'queen'

290) Koḍ. *a:yv* 'choosing, research'

400) Koḍ. *erapë* 'begger' (male), *erapaci* (female).

401) Tu. *irvo* 'two persons' (Mariappa Bhat and Kediliya), Kur. *irbar* 'id' (definite, mas. & fem.) (Hahn. 1911:85).

670) Ka. *eṇṭu nu:ṟu* 'eight hundred' (Gai. 1946:72) *eṇbattaivattar* 'eighty five Mattars'-8th cent.(Ibid 177), Tu. *eṇmanu:du* 'eight hundred' (Brigel and Shankara Bhat).

710) Kol. (pl.) *elkul* 'rats'

718) Ta. *ella:m* 'we, all' (Tol. 671, 672)

772) Ta. *e:ḻ* 'seven' (Tol. 389), Ka. *eḻpattu* 'seventy' (8th cent. Gai. 1946:72), *eḻnu:ru* 'seven hundred' in *eḻnu:ra tombatta eraḍu* 'seven hundred and ninety two' (Gai. 1946:74), Tu. *e:ḷnu:du* 'id'.

834) Ka. *orvan*, *o:rvan* 'one man' (Narasimhia; 1941: 293). But he has given with -VV- in the grammar, p. 183).

834a) Ma. *oruttar* 'one person' (hon.) (Insc.), *oruvar* 'id' (KG. V.G. 358).

862) Ta. *oṉpa:ṉ* 'nine' (Tol. 445, 483, etc.), *oṉpa*°*tu* 'id' (Tol.). Tu. *ormbanu:du* 'nine hundred (Brigel).

870) Ka. *eṇbar* 'eight persons' (Vaḍḍ. 18.1)

957) Koḍ. *kaḍev* 'grinding'

961) Koḍ. *kaṭṭaḍa* 'building'

962) Koḍ. *gëṭṭi* 'hard; slit', *gëṭṭigati* 'able woman', *geṭṭigë* 'able man'.

985) Ta. *kaṇḍavaḷ* 'woman not related; stranger(fem.)'

1086) Koḍ. *karak* 'dissolve', *karak* 'dissolving'

1092) Koḍ. *kalap* 'kneading'

1096) Koḍ. *kalak* 'stirring up'

1099) Koḍ. *kaḷavaḷa* 'confusion'

1154) Koḍ. *katt* 'washing'

1156) Ma. *kaḷḷi* 'thief' (fem.).

1157) Ta. *kaḷaikkoṭṭu* 'wedding-hook; grass-hoe, *kaḷaiveṭṭi* 'jumper; a tool that works with

jumping motion' Koḍ. *kaḷekatti* 'weeder', *kaḷe* 'dig', *kaḷep* 'digging'

1166) Koḍ. *karup* 'milking'

1211) Ka. *ka:talan* 'lover'; husband' (Vaḍḍ. 36.27), *ka:talaḷ* 'beloved' (Vaḍḍ. 39.26)

1287) Koḍ, *kiṭṭ* 'getting'

1326) Ka. *kiṟiyam* 'young man' (Vaḍḍ–99–26), *kiṟiyaḷ*. fem. (Vaḍḍ. 72.21), *kiṟiyar* ep.pl. (Vaḍḍ. 104.16)

1328) Ma. *kiṟukkan* 'lunatic'

1371) Koḍ. *kuññappë* 'uncle; father's younger brother'; *kuññavvë* 'aunt; 'father's younger sister';

1378) Koḍ. *kuḍiyë* 'man of toddy tapper caste', *kuḍipe* 'drinks'

1385) Koḍ. *koḍak* (tr.) 'shake' *koḍak* 'shaking'

1408) Koḍ. *kuṇṭati* 'lame woman', Tu. *kuṇṭe* 'lame man', 'crippled man', 'short man', *kuṇṭi* 'lame woman' (Bhat).

1429) Koḍ. *kutt* 'thrushing',

1487) Koḍ. *kurīḍ* 'blind', *kurīḍë* 'blind person' *kurīḍi* 'blind woman'

1501) Koḍ. *kulīk* 'shaking'

1517) Ko. *koḷakm* 'a measure of capacity'

1522) Koḍ. *kuḷip* 'bathing'
kuḷiyame 'pregnancy' (lit. need not bathe)

1526) Koḍ. *kuḷḷë* 'short man', *kuḷḷi* 'short woman',

1530) Koḍ. *kurubë* 'Kuruba caste man', *kurubati* 'Kuruba caste woman'

1551) Ta. *ku:ppa:ṭu* 'roar' Koḍ. *ku:paḍe* 'id'

1605) Koḍ. *ku:n* 'hunch back' *gu:ni* 'hunch backed woman', *gu:në* 'hunch back man'

1645a) Kol. (pl.-*ul*), Pa. *kekocil* 'ears' Ga. *kekosul* 'id'

1645b) Koḍ. *kivḍ* 'deaf, muteness', *kivḍi* 'deaf, mute woman', *kivḍë* 'deaf, mute man'

1648) Ma. *kuyatti* 'potter woman'

1683) Pa. (pl.) *keyul* 'hands'

1689) Koḍ. *kekkeri/kekkaricid* 'cackle' *kekkcrip* 'cackling'

1873) Ta. *cekkili* 'cobbler' Cf. *cekkiliyar* (S. I. I.-7. 128. 5, 13th, cent. Insc.) To. *coklin.*

1910) Koḍ. *daḍḍi* 'dull woman'

1927) Koḍ. *caymp* 'chewing'

1969) Koḍ. *cell* 'sowing, scattering'

2026) Koḍ. *ca:c* 'stretch out (hand), *ca:c* 'standing'

2042) Ta. *ca:likan̲* 'caste of weavers' Cf. *ca:likar* S. I. I. Vol. 12.154.11 (Agesthialingom & Shanmugam, 1970:107) Tu. *sa:lye* 'caste of weavers' fem. *sa:lyetti*

2051) Tu. a:*ji nu:du* 'six hundred' (Shankara Bhat) Te. *a:ru nu:ru* (MTe) 'id' (Mahadeva Sastri, 1969:199) Konḍa. *aṟu* 'six', *aṟuguru* 'six men' (Krishnamurthi, 1969:351)

2097) Koḍ. *cimm* 'to twinkle' *cimm* 'blinking of the eyes'

2122) Koḍ. *cilre* 'change' (money)

2318) Ma. *ainu:ṟu* 'five hundred' (10th cent. insc.)
Konḍa. *aydu* 'five' (< Te. *aydu* Krishnamurthi, 1969:349.

2353) Koḍ. *co:r* 'to leak', *co:r* 'leaking'

2379) Koḍ. *na:t* 'make to smell'

2449) Ta. *taṭicci* 'fat woman'

2466) Koḍ. *taṭṭati* 'goldsmith' fem.

2546) Koḍ. *tombe* 'lungs'

2562) Koḍ. *tarip* 'cutting'; 'bending'

2573) Koḍ. *ta:ng* 'leaning', *tak* 'leaning'

2582) Ta. *ta:ṅkaḷ* (Ap. Te. 5.8.7.2) *taṅkaḷ*(Cil. 23.175)

2653) Koḍ. *tere* 'wave, dress, screen'

2655) Ta. *tiruka:ṇi* 'screw ornaments; small ornament like a tace'

2670) Koḍ. *ti:ni* 'eatable'

2674) Ta. *te:ttiṟa:l* 'honey-com,' (according Tol.344.)

2683) Koḍ. *ti:rp* 'judgement' *ti:rma:na* 'decide'

2725) Koḍ. *tupp* 'spittoon'

2735) Koḍ. *dumba* 'much; many'

2761) Koḍ. *tuḷasi* 'basil scared plant'

2777) Koḍ. *tu:ṅg* 'hanging', *tu:k* 'id', *tu:pe* 'light' (not heavy) *tu:va* 'tail of a bird'

2806) Koḍ. *teṅg* 'coconut palm,, *teṅge po:r* 'coconut scrambling'

2828) Koḍ. *toḷip* 'laughing'

2842) Koḍ. *te:g* 'teak'

2868) Koḍ. *toṭṭi* 'bucket'

2887) Koḍ. *tondare* 'trouble'

2925) Koḍ. *to:ṭi* 'scavenger' (mas.), *to:ṭici* (fem.)

2927) Koḍ. *to:ḍ* 'digging'

2937) Koḍ. *tolip* 'pealing'

2939) Konḍa. (pl.) *ṭonḍar* 'intimate friends',
Pe. (pl.) *ṭonḍar* 'brothers'

2944) Ta. *nakai* 'ornament' (Mod. Ta.),
Koḍ. *naga* 'id'

2945) Ta. *nakku* 'licking',
Koḍ. *nakk* 'id'

2957) Ta. *naṭama:ṭṭam* 'going about, dancing' (Na:c. TM. 10.7.2) Koḍ *naṭap* 'walking celebration' *naḍe* 'walking'

2975) Koḍ. *nambike* 'belief'

2977) Koḍ. *naya*^{n} 'gentle; smooth'

3006) Koḍ. *nelap* 'washing' (clothes), *nëna* 'to wet' *nënap* 'wetting'

3024) Tu. *na:loḷu/na:lvo:ḷu* 'four times'

3041) Koḍ. *nerap* 'levelling', *nerav* 'filing'

3043) Koḍ. *nippa* 'stopping' *nippaciḍ* 'to stop'

3050) Koḍ. *nenap* 'though'

3051) Ta. *nun* 'your' (ña:n. Te. 2.52.10.3)

3059) Koḍ *ni:ṭa* 'length'

3090) Ka. *nu:ṟvar* 'hundred persons' (Vaḍḍ. 49.91)

3100) Koḍ *neyv* 'braiding; weaving'

3103) Koḍ *neyvu* 'braiding; weaving'

3109) Ta. *nerunar̲r̲u* 'yesterday' (Tir. 1278)

3121) Koḍ. *në:ṭa* 'earning'

3154) Koḍ. *page* 'enemity', *pageyë* 'enemy'

3055) Ta. *ni:vir* 'you (pl.)' (Nan̲n̲u:l S.225)

3236) Ta. *paஃtu* in 20, 30 etc. (according to Tol.438)
Ma. *patinmar* 'ten persons', *patin* (in 11, 13, 15 to 18), *pati* (in 14), *pann/pant* (in 12), *pattonpatu* 'nineteen'

3288) Pa. (pl.) *pelkul* 'teeth'

3296) Koḍ. *paḷayë* 'old man'

3319) Ma. *par̲acci* 'woman of drummer caste'

3362) Koḍ. *pa:yp* 'the act of dash', *pa:yv* 'the act of dash'

3412) Koḍ. *puḍip* 'holding'

3435) Koḍ. *piriv* 'dispersing; returning'

3436) koḍ. *pirip* 'twisting a rope'

3452) Kur. *pini:* 'father's elder brother's wife'

3491) Koḍ. *paḍala ka:yi* 'snake guard'

3511) Koḍ. *pudīyë* 'new' Tu. *posebetti* (fem.)

3546) Koḍ. *puḷiñje* 'tamarind'

3548) Ta. *puḷukaṉ* 'liar', *puḷuki* 'woman liar'

3564) Kol. (pl.) *puvul* 'flowers'

3608a) Ta. *peṇṭir* 'women' (Kuṟ. 158.6, Puṟ. 9.2.)
Ka. *peṇḍir* 'id' (Vaḍḍ 30-13)

3617) Koḍ. *percaḷi* 'bandicoot'

3714) Ma. *pulacci* 'low caste woman'

3768) Ta. *makaḷir* 'woman' (Puṟ. 10.9) Ka. *makkaḷir* 'children' (Vaḍḍ. 4.6.) *makan* 'son' 8th cent. (Gai, 1946:213)

3798) Ma. *maṭava:r* 'grown up women' (KG. 1033)

3804) Koḍ. *maḍiva:ḷë* 'washer man', *maḍiva:ḷati* 'washer woman'

3841) Ka. *madevaḷ* 'bride' (Vaḍḍ. 17.15.)

3847) Kod. *manda* 'denseness'

4028) Ta. *muṭatti* 'lame woman'
Koḍ. *muḍa* 'lameness' *muḍavën* 'lame man' *muḍavati* 'lame woman'

4057) Ta. *mutuvar* 'elder persons' (Tir. 715)

1100) Kui. *mokonga* 'saplings' Kuvi. *mokona* 'id' Pe. *moko* 'shoot; sprout'

4122) Ta. *mu:kkutti* 'nose-ring' Koḍ. *mukotti* 'id'

4147) Te. *mu:nu:ṟu* (undated insc. Mahadeva Sastri, 1969: 190)

4185) Koḍ. *mayn* 'body'

4242) Koḍ *reppe* 'eyelid; hair of eye-lashes'

4254) Ta. *loḷ, loḷ...* 'imitation of the sound of dog's barking'

4311) Koḍ. *baravī* 'income'

4322) Koḍ. *balip* 'the act of dragging'

4400) Koḍ. *ba:vali* 'bat'

4419) Koḍ. *buḍīgaḍë* 'quit'

4464) Koḍ. *boḷat* 'act of growing'

4519) Koḍ. *borat* 'fighting'

4548) koḍ. *bo:ḍ* 'begging'

S738) Kui (pl.) *bambanga* 'the musles of the chest and under part of the neck' (pl.) *bommina* 'shoulders'

7.2.3. NEW MEANING

1) Ta. *aṉaivar* 'that much of people; such persons'

3709) Ta. *porunaṉ* 'actor' (Aka. 76.5) dancer (Puṟ. 389.5) singer (*porunar* 'Singer' (Cil. 13.148)

3768) Ta. *makkaḷ* 'children' (Puṟ. 126.10)

3708) Ta. *porunaṉ* 'king' (Puṟ.61.12), 'enemy' (*porunar* enemies (Puṟ. 365.6)

7.2.4. SUPPLEMENTARIES TO DBIA

Ta. *ilakkam* 'target' (Tir. 627) Koḍ. *lekka* 'id'

Ta. *ko:ṭi* 'crore' (Puṟ. 18.5), Ka. *ko:ṭi* 'id' (Vaḍḍ. 14.3)

Ta. *mu:ṭan* 'fool' Ma. *mu:ḍhan* 'id' (KG.V. 533) Koḍ. *mu:ḍë* 'id' fem. *mu:ḍati* Skt. *mu:ḍha* 'fool'

Ta. *va:nti* 'vomit' Koḍ. *va:ndi* 'id' Ka. *ba:ndi* 'id'

7.2.5. ADDITIONS TO DBIA

87) Ta. *va:ṇikaṉ* 'oil monger' *va:ṇikar* 'oil monger' SII. 12.236.7 13th cent. (Agesthialingom and Shanmugam 1970:107), *va:ṇiyar* 'id' (Ibid.) Ma. *va:ṇiyan* 'oil monger', Ga. *ga:ṇa* 'oil mill' (Burrow and Bhattacharya, 1962:48)

105) Koḍ. *guttige* 'lease'

233a) Koya. *pakka* 'beside, next to, near' *agga* 'near' (Tyler, 1969:55)

242) Koḍ. *paḍip* 'learning'

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ERRATA

Page	Line	Error	Correction
17	21	*avaḷ*	*avḷ*
18	1	*avan*	*avn*
20	12	feminine	feminine plural
24	2	*akki*	*aky*
25	13	*mu:nḏ*	*mu:ḏ*
48	5	2.3.4.	2.3.3.
	13	2.3.5.	2.3.4.
76	19	2.12.4.	2.13.4.
77	8	2.12.5.	2.13.3.
104	15	Three	There
120	19	*toṭṭy*	*toṭṭy*
138	18	**li-kaḷ*	**eli-kaḷ*
149	11	**munu:ṟu*	**munnu:ṯu*
152	14	**na:nu:tu*	**na:nu:ṯu*
153	11	Ko.	Ka.
157	23	*a:r*	*a:ṟu*
162	23	not	—
163	28	*tambhai*	*tombhai*
164	29	2.1. and 2.2.	3.1. and 3.2.
180	16	—	*em*(obl.)
223	11	*est-aṛn-i*	*est-aṛin-i*
251	11	Pa. (446, 447) Gadaba (480, 481)	Pa. (436, 437) Gadaba (470, 471)
253	5	Parji (472)	Parji (462)
	6	Kurux (509) Brahui (556)	Kuṛux (499) Brahui (547)
	19	*-ku*	*-k*
270	15	—	Naṟ. 104.4.
318	16	*kalle:na*	*kalle:na:*

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